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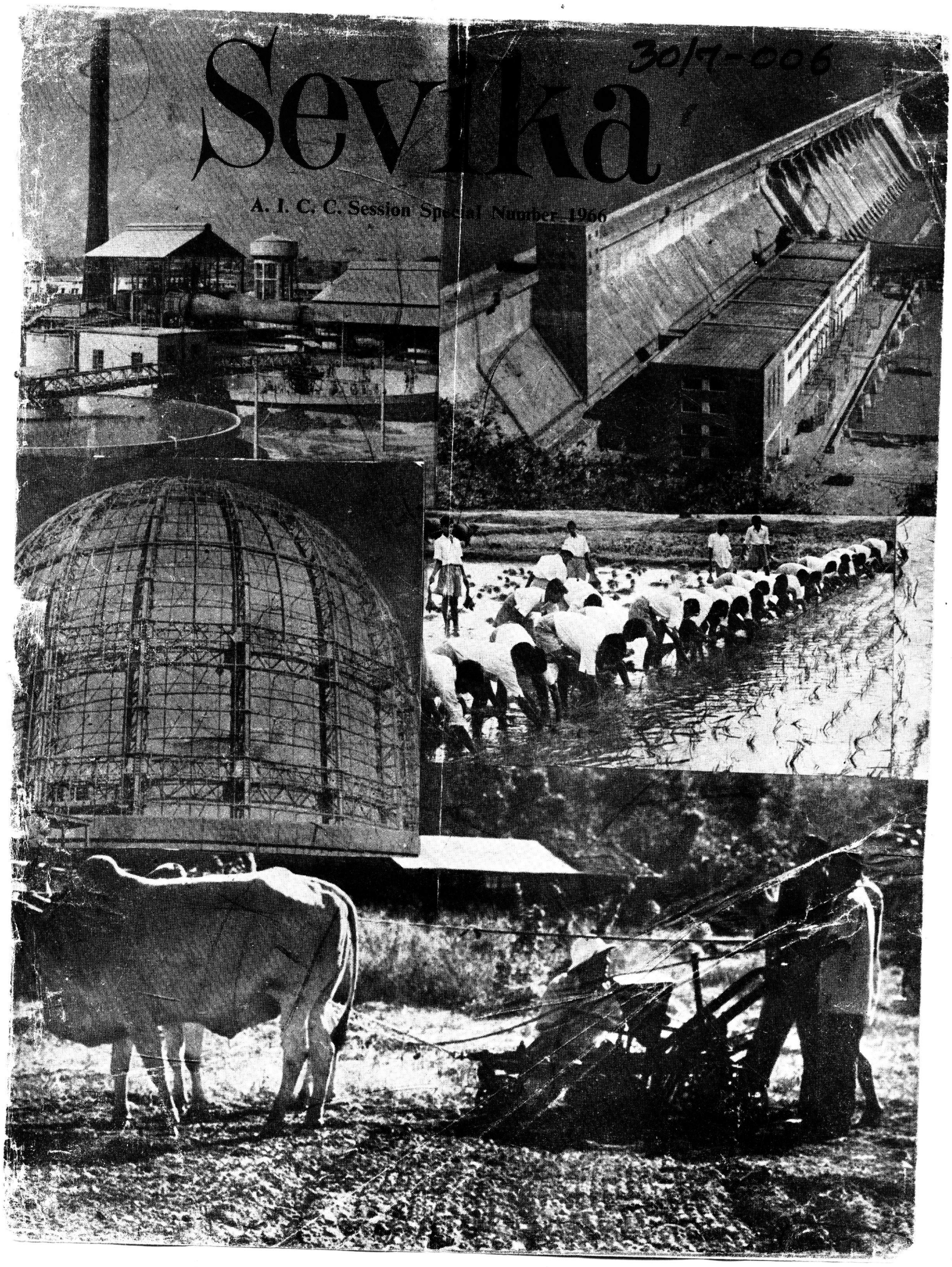
A. I. C. C. Session Special Number 1966

30/7-006



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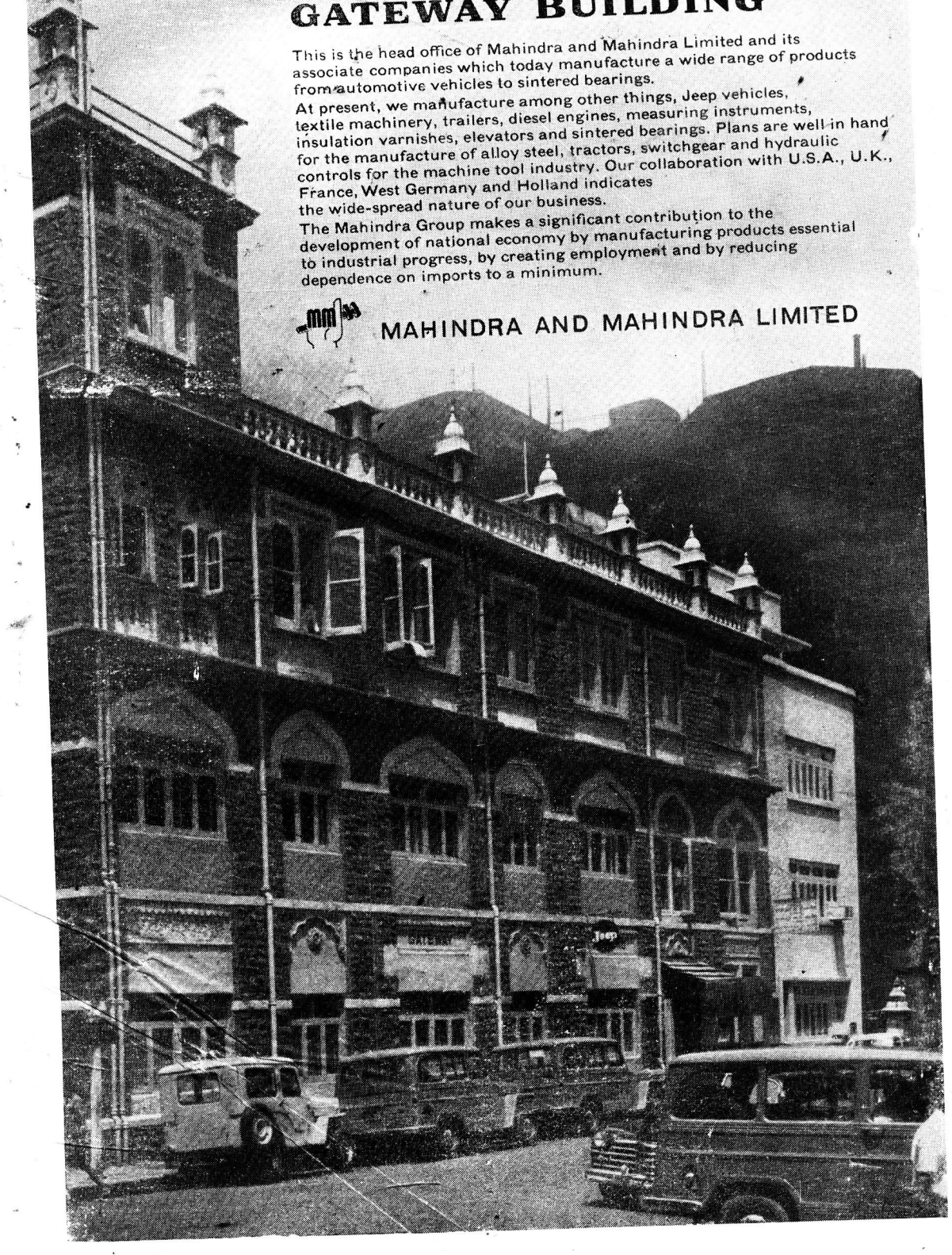

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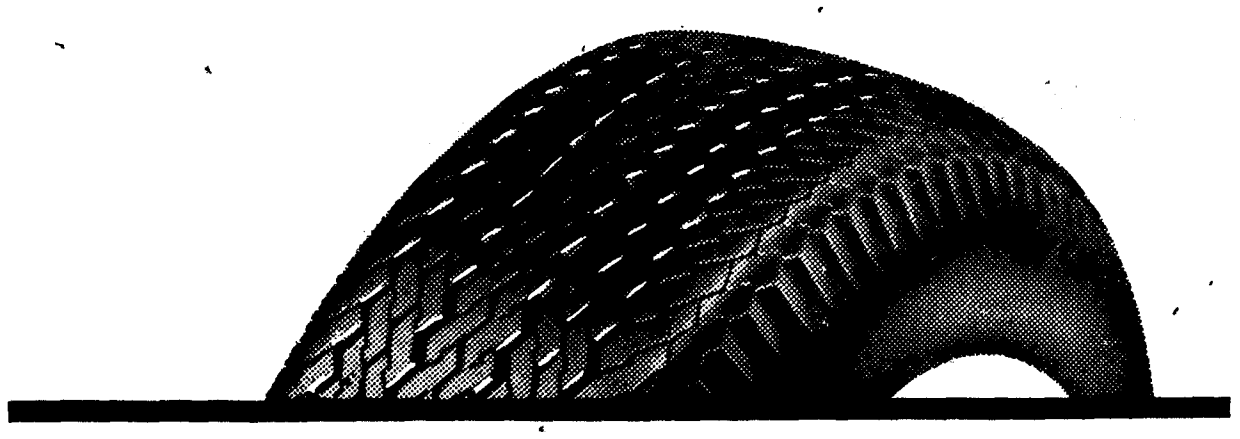

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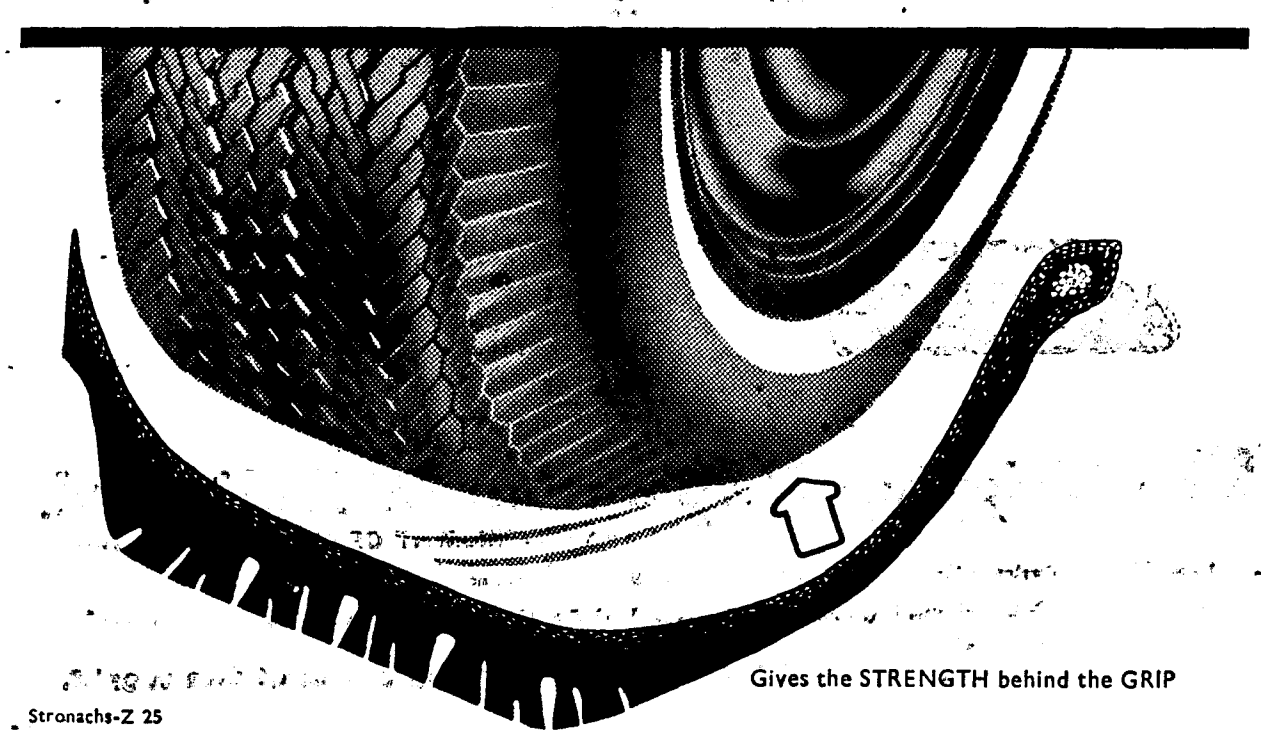

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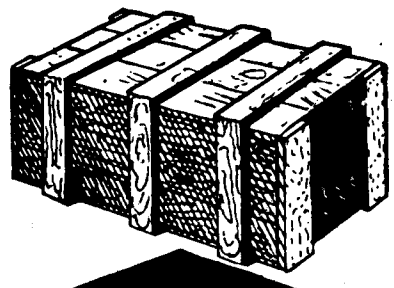

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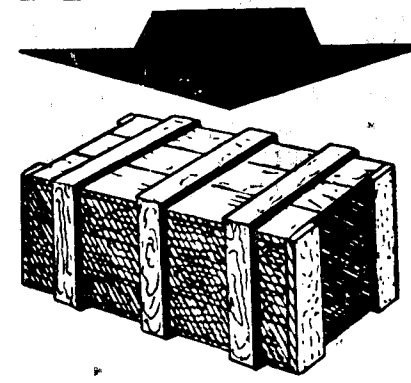

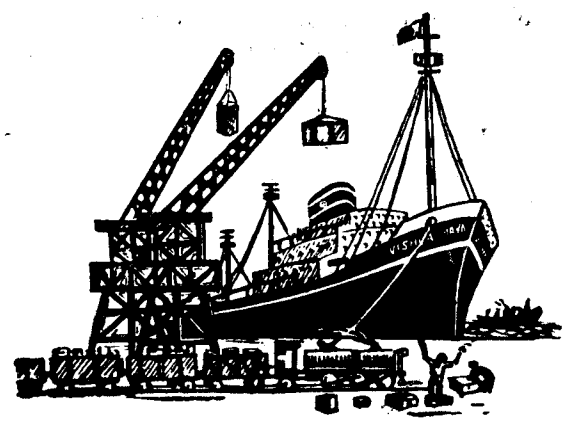

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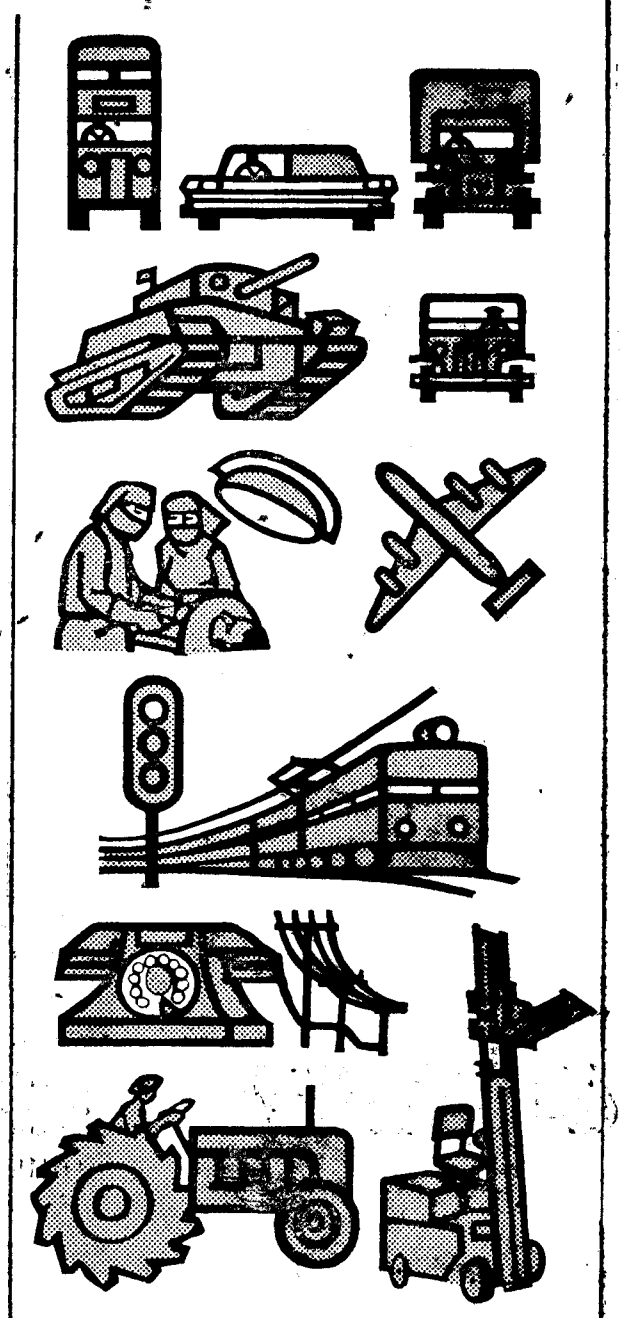

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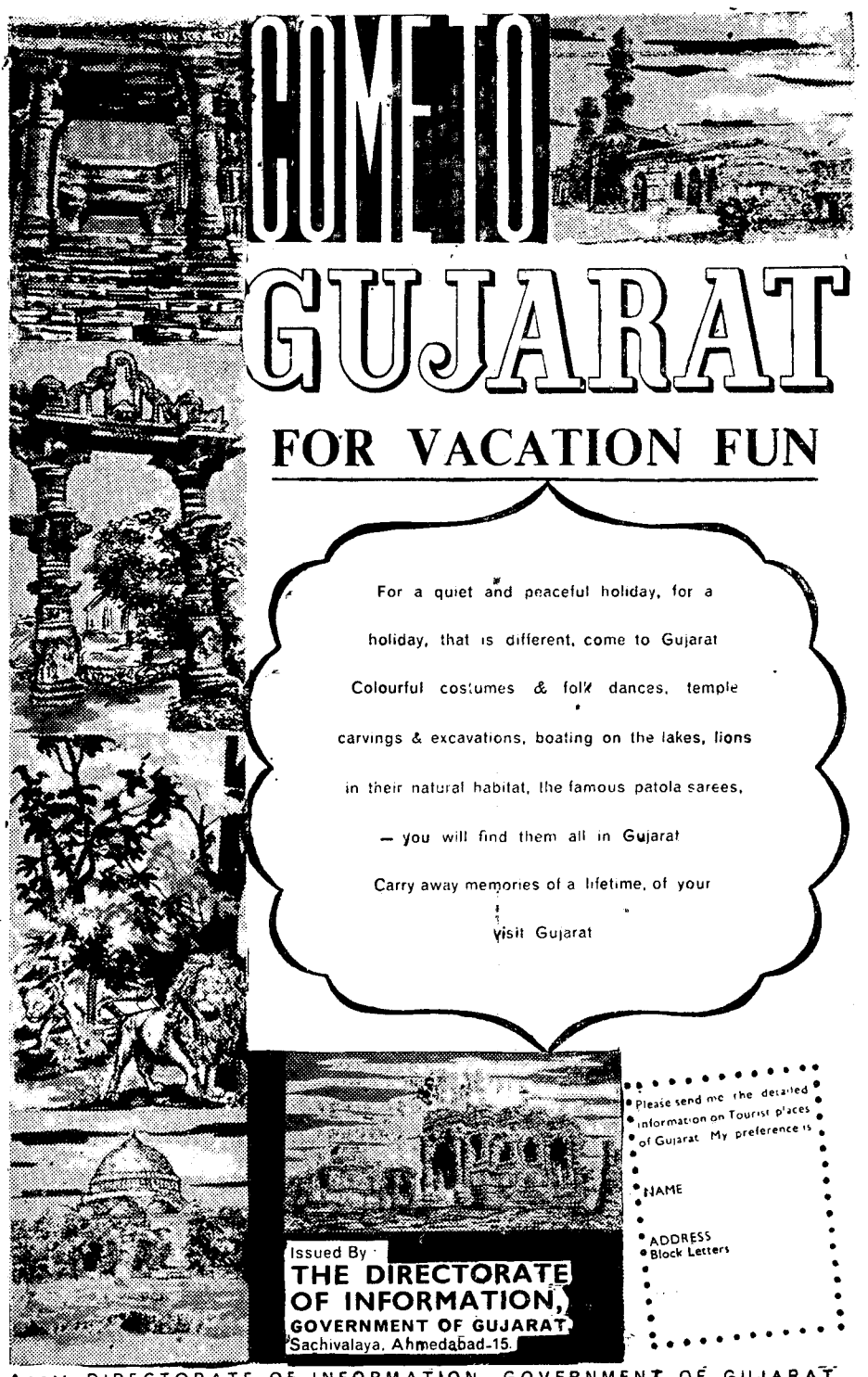

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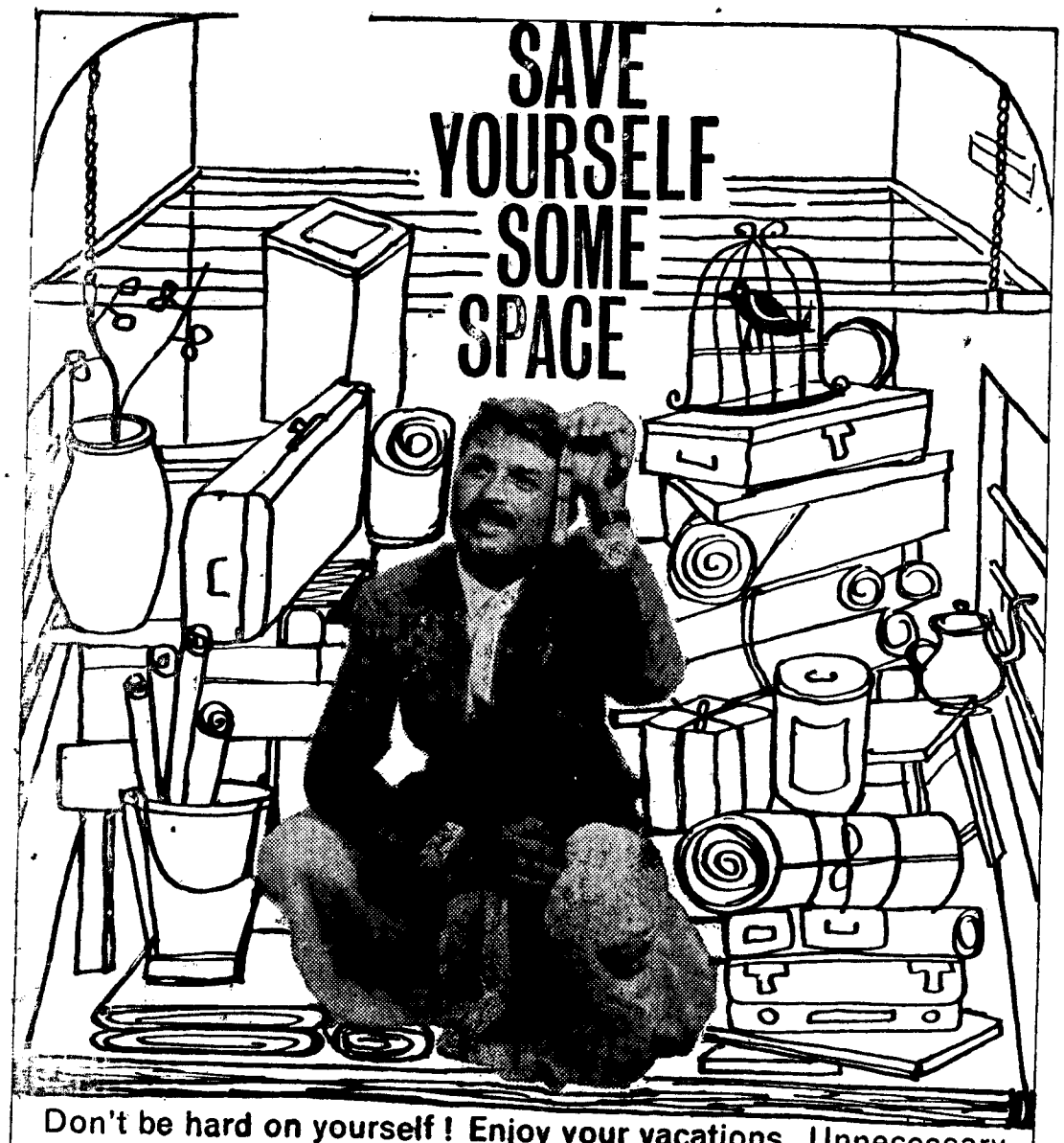

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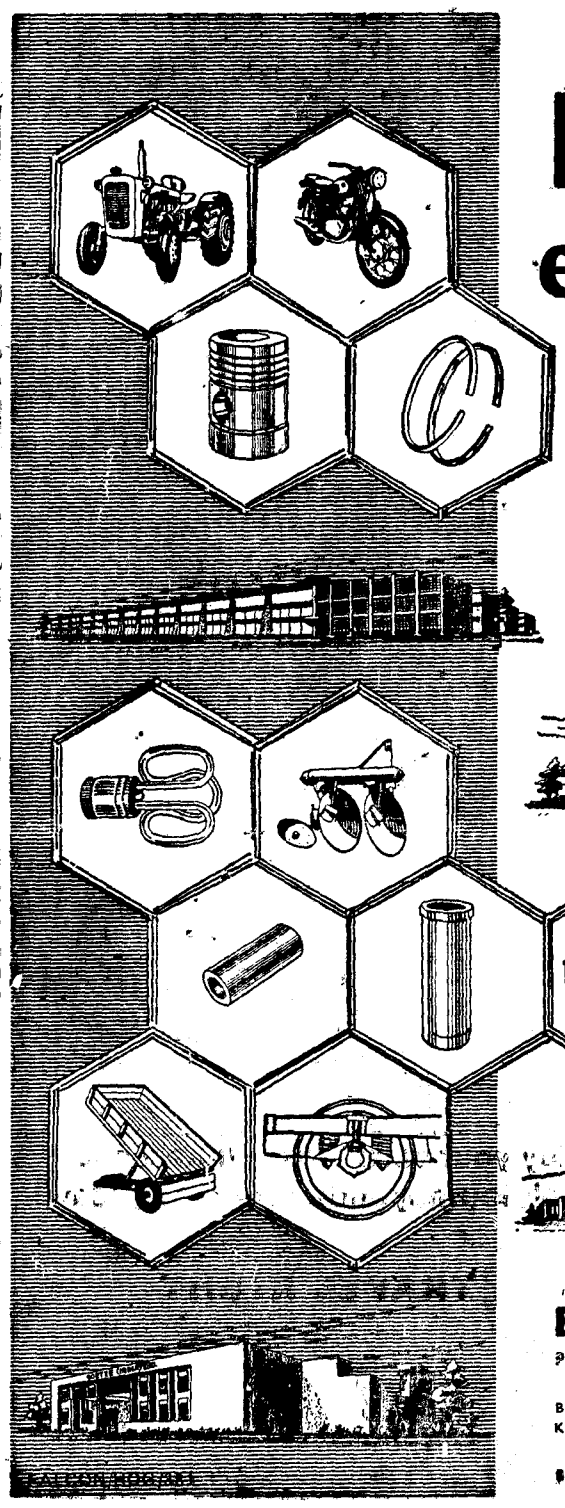

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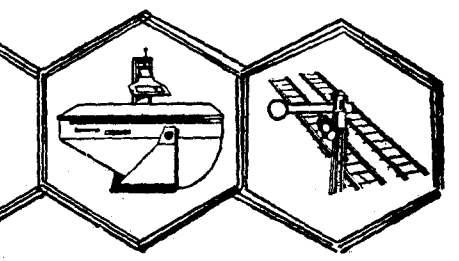

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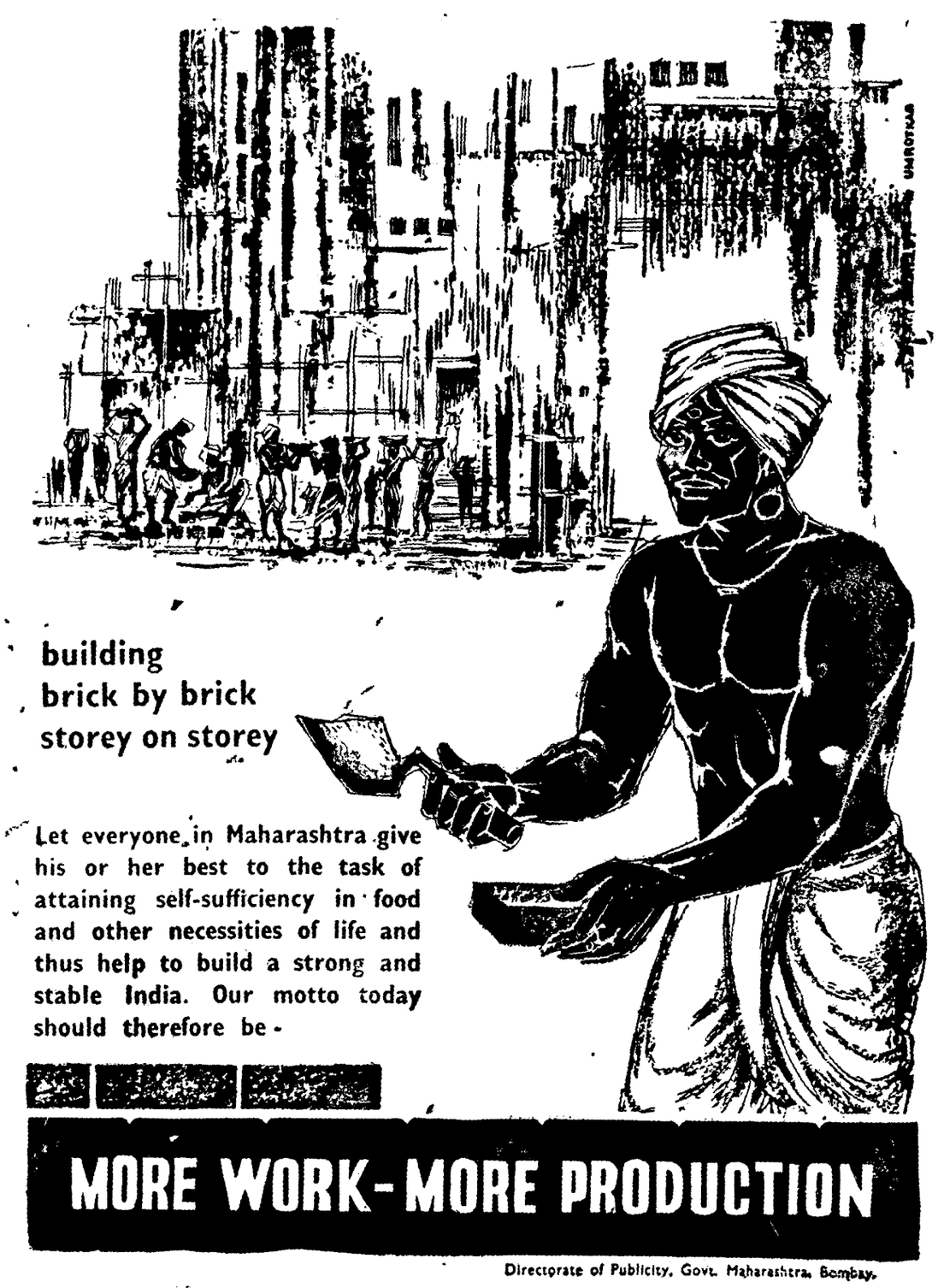
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Vol. XVI | MAY 1966 | No. 5

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MARCH ON WITH THE CONGRESS

The session of the All India Congress Committee currently being held at Bombay is significant because within a few months, this national organisation will be facing the electorate. Prophets of gloom are not wanting to predict the disintegration of the Congress; they will be utterly falsified. The Congress has faced many crises in the past and has emerged stronger after every such challenge. It has still a competent leadership at the top with the idealism of youth and the maturity of experience. Despite dents here and there, the organisation is still intact and the Congress can indent on the services of dedicated and disciplined workers.

It is no doubt true that in three States dissident Congressmen have broken away from the organisation and set up parallel bodies...This is not the first time that some rebel Congressmen have walked out in a huff, cutting off their nose to spite someone else's face. There is nothing wrong in any Congressman aspiring for any position within the party. But if he is not able to muster sufficient support, he must bide his time. Hardly any purpose would be served by holding pourparlers with the dissidents who have thrown discipline and party loyalty to the winds. Such persons cannot but be a millstone round the neck of the organisation.

The Congress President has deplored the growth of bossism and groupism. This trend can be arrested only if all genuine Congressmen put their shoulder to the wheel. Where were the bosses and the group leaders during the freedom struggle? Why then should they be tolerated now? There can be no place in the organisation for deck chair legatees and political pensioners who demand the largest slice of the national cake for themselvs.

There has been a lot of loose talk about infusing new blood. Not all new blood can be of the right type; and a vibrant organisation does not require any blood transfusion. The Congress has set no restrictions on the admission of neophytes. Anyone who subscribes to the Congress creed and submits to its discipline is welcome to join the ranks. It is indeed a happy augury that many who had left the Congress shortly after the advent of freedom are coming back to the parental fold. Some of them are holding positions of responsibility in the ministerial and organisational wings.

There has been a cry from angry young men and old men in a hurry for a reaffirmation of the Socialist creed. Why should the creed be reaffirmed when it has never been repudiated? Is it to be a rite or ritual at every session of the AICC? The Prime Minister has emphasised that our economic policies are not rock edicts. And the Congress President has reiterated that "our Socialism has to be a home-grown product that arises out of the soil to meet the requirements of our people and their genius. "Periodic affirmation of the Socialist goal would only betray the hysteria of the weak. The Congress has no reason to be afraid of its own shadows. With a past that constitutes a glorious chapter in the history of the nation, with a present that inspires confidence and with a future that hold out high hopes, the Congress need not be diffident about facing the electorate next year.

There is no doubt that as in the past, the people will march on with the Congress; and give others the marching orders.

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May 11, 1966

G1(M)/5220

I am glad to know that a Special Number of Sevika is being brought out on the eve of the All India Congress Committee Meeting in Bombay. Already, the magazine has been performing a fine job in educating the Congress workers about the principles we stand for. I am confident the proposed Special Number of Sevika will contain inspiring material throwing light on our basic policies. I wish the endeavour all success.

k kamaraj

(K. Kamaraj)

प्रधान मंत्री भवन
PRIME MINISTER'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI

The coming months are a test for all Congressmen and Congresswomen. On test will be our faith and our capacity for dedicated, decisive and unified action. On the shoulders of the Congress rests the responsibility to give our country a stable, progressive and efficient administration. We must uphold and cherish the aspirations which the makers of this nation have bequeathed to us.

I send my greetings and good wishes to the special number of the "Sevika".

Indira Gandhi.

(Indira Gandhi)

New Delhi
April 28, 1966

S. K. Patil
MINISTER FOR RAILWAYS
GOVT. OF INDIA

12, Akbar Road,
New Delhi.

18th May 1966

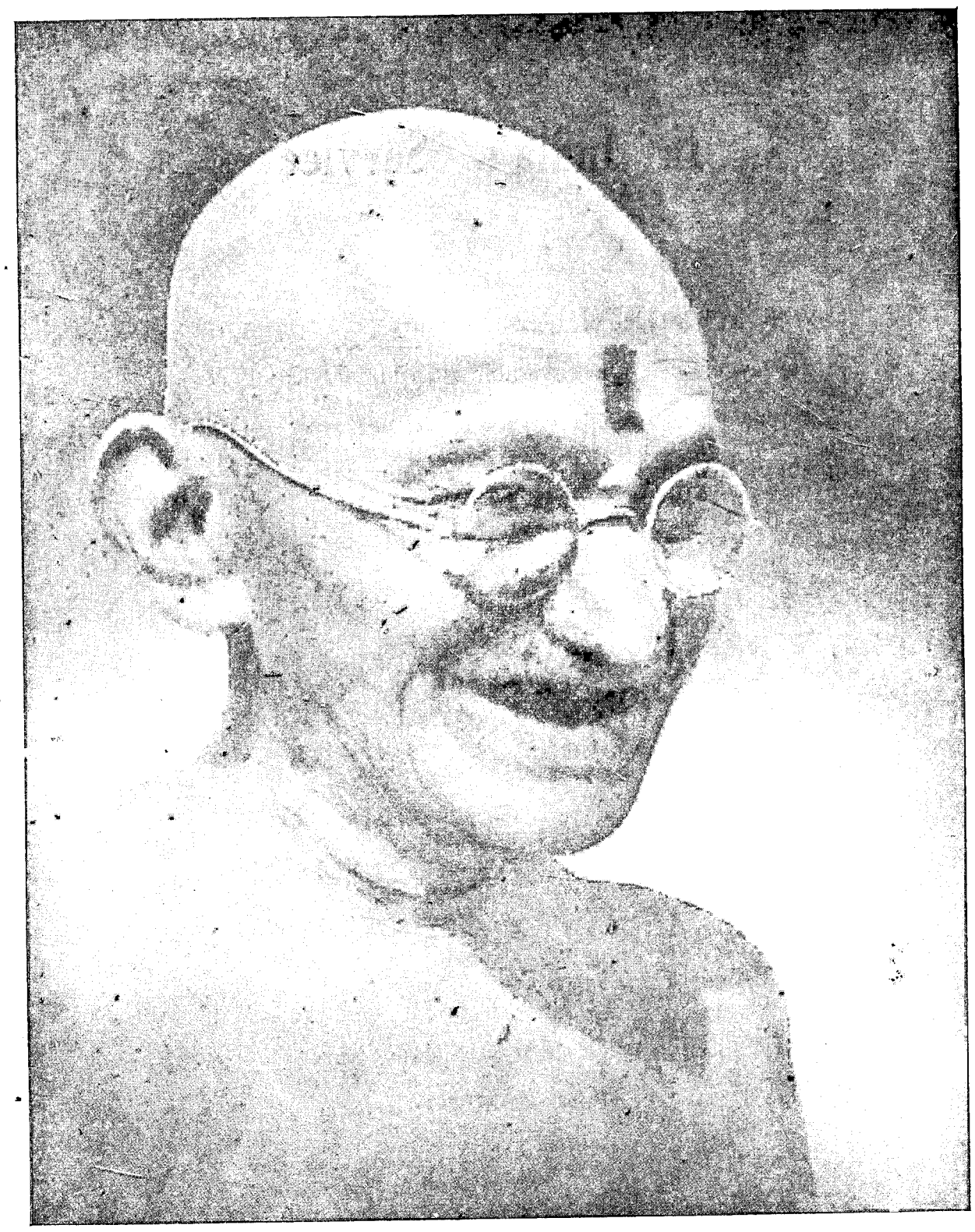
Message.

Bombay's contribution to the cause of freedom struggle is pre-eminent throughout the pre-independence era and will stand green in the minds of all patriotic minded people. It was Bombay which gave the lead to the rest of the country in almost all the struggles before independence and Bombay is the birthplace of the Congress.

Congress is meeting once again in this city at a critical time when the country is faced with many problems and we have to make a determined effort to face the challenging tasks ahead of us.

I am happy to know that Sevika is bringing out a special number on the eccasion of the A. I. C. C. meeting here. I wish all success to this Special Number and I am sure it will continueits dedicated work which it has been doing during the past 16 years.

(S. K. Patil.)



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ROLE OF WOMEN IN INDIA'S NATIONAL LIFE

ATULYA GHOSH
Treasurer, A. I. C. C.

One of the most significant characteristics of Congress has been that it fought for the independence of India not for the sake of independence as such but to bring about a political, social and economic transformation in keeping with the modern times. In fact, the secret of the continuous leadership of Congress even after independence lies in that. Long before independence Congress proclaimed equality for all. There was to be no difference between man and the woman, just as there was to be no difference between a brahmin and a paria; between a Hindu and Muslim; between a Bengali and a Maharashtrian. That was the main reason why the world witnessed the almost unbelievable. Thousands of women, who were kept behind the purdah, who were looked down as inferior in every sense of the term, who were always to remain under the tuteloge of some man or other at different periods of their life, who had no education, took part in the struggle for freedom side by side with men. The ever shining list of martyrs for India's fight for honour contain the names not only brave sons of India but also brave daughters of India. To-day the world looks with some awe and trepidation at the boldness of a country of 450 millions passing through the most difficult period both internally and externally placing her destinies without the least sign of nervousness and anxiety in the hands of one of her most illustrious daughters. That Shrimati Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister by her right and merit needs no saying but the very choice of her is a true measure of the depth to which Indian mind has penetrated about equality.

MORE ADEPT

That makes the responsibility of Indian womanhood all the greater. There are certain aspects of service in which women are more adept and capable than men. Women should concentrate on those aspects rather than direct their manifest abilities to channels where they may be less effective. I venture to suggest below some such.

Firstly, while the Constitution has declared that in the eye of the State everybody is equal, it is yet to be translated into living reality in personal, family and social fields. Only women can change the prevailing atmosphere. Women can practise equality in their personal and family life and mould the members of the family particularly children to this way of living with far greater ease than men, as they have a far more abiding influence on the family.

Secondly, it is daily becoming evident that whatever efforts we may make to improve the standard of life of the people and to build up rapidly a prosperous self-reliant economy for India through plans, all our efforts will be of no value and all our achievements will prove illusory if we cannot check abnormal growth in population. That the Indian people has been deprived of the tale of the very great advance in all fields is mostly due to what is known as population explosion. It is here that women can play a very very effective in fact, decisive role. They must take to family planning seriously. This message should be carried to every home and it is the special responsibility of women to take initiative in launching this movement. What greater service can an Indian render to India than this ?

HUGE DRAINAGE

Thirdly, the utility of gold as ornaments and safeguards against the uncertainties and vagaries of future has almost gone. Gold is of far greater importance in advancing the economy of a country. This is all the more so in regard to countries like India whose economic growth is being hampered because of lack of capital. Besides, there is a huge drainage of foreign exchange due to smuggling of gold to India the price of which is much higher than the international price of gold. To some extent this is due to obsession of Indian mind particularly its women-folk with gold. They attach significance to possession of gold which is no longer economically sound. Whatever may have been the value of gold as guarantees against future risk and as standbys

(Contd. on page 23)

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

MAY 1966

Congress and Next General Elections

—ADAM ADIL
Secretary, B.P.C.C.

The General Elections are just about 9 months ahead. Congress will be called upon to approach the electorate for votes for the fourth time since India attained freedom. During the last General Elections there were 21,59,17,042 voters throughout the country. This figure will go up still further this time. These voters will include thousands of young men and women who have just grown up. They have no experience of the glorious part Congress played in the struggle for freedom. They have grown up in the transitional period, hence they are conscious of the difficulties the generality of people having been facing. These young men are in the habit of asking questions.

The Congress will have to approach these young voters also. And the voters will not be satisfied merely with the past achievements of the Congress. The Congress will have to approach them with the spirit of the future. Congress will have to show them concrete achievments — especially the achievements after the attainment of independence. These young men will compare the conditions of India with those of other countries, about which they read in newspapers and magazines. It will not be enough if the names of great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel are projected before them. They will say "we respect them, so what ?"

NEW APPROACH

Therefore a new approach will need to be made to these new young voters. They will have to be convinced that Congress does not live on its past laurels, but on its capacity to face the future. In other words, these young men will have to be explained what the problems of the country are and how the Congress proposes to solve them. These young men will have to be politically educated.

Similarly, our approach to the older voters will have to be determined. These older voters are a dissatisfied lot. They are dissatisfied with the phenomenon of rising prices and shortages of food and other essential things. They compare the past with the present and feel that past was better. They are not confident of the future. Therefore, Congress will have to explain to them the reason for the present difficult situation. Often the explanation might be difficult and unconvincing, but an effort in that direction is unavoidable.

Fortunately with the election of Smt. Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister of the country, Congress leadership can be stated be passing in younger hands. This will pave the way for the elimination of corruption and favouritism and inefficiency not only from organisation but also from the administration.

But single-handedly Shrimati Indira Gandhi will not be able to mend matters. She will require the cooperation of all the people of country especially the Congressmen and women.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi is a great lady. She has all the qualities of leadership which her illustrious father possessed. But she will be helpless if Gongress does not strengthen her hands. This is realised more keenly by no other person than Congress President Shri K. Kamaraj himself.

How can the Congress strengthen the hands of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, not merely with an eye to the forthcoming General Elections, but for the disinterested service of the country ?

First of all, Congress will have to revitalise its basic committees so as to place them in active contact with the people. These committee will assess peoples grievances and endeavour to redress them. They will organise the people into the various wings of the Congress. They will explain the people the Congress programme and the national and international policies of the Congress Government. They will adopt constructively critical attitude if the Congress Government does anything wrong. In other words, Congressmen at the village and the town levels will be active spokesmen of the people and represent peoples' aspirations and urges.

LIAISON

Secondly, Congressmen at higher levels must develop liaison and dialogue between themselves and the intelligentsia. To-day highly intelligent people, distinguished in various pro-

fessions do not normally join in or take interest in the activities of the Congress. This imbalance will have to be corrected. The association of the intelligentsia with Congress wil certainly strengthen Congress.

Thirdly, Congress will have to become active among peasants and workers. To-day, irresponsible political leaders have made inroads into their ranks and they seek to hinder production through strikes and go slow tactics. Congressmen, therefore, will have to give a direction to the organisation of the peasants and the workers.

Congress will have to be more active among youth and women, especially at village and town level. In cities Congress is already active among them. Once the youth and women on the countryside are activised within the framework of the Congress Organisation, they can be a tremendous constructive force in the country.

Being the ruling party the Congress is naturally responsible for delivering the goods for the country. Congressmen can never afford to fail in this responsibility. Therefore the future of the country depends their sense of urgency and their preparedness to forge the country ahead.

(Contd. from page 19)

in case of sudden emergencies, there is no such justification now in these days of banking and other institutions of the same kind; Gold used as ornament is useless for the nation. It should be pumped into the economy of the country. Investment of gold is better guarantee against risk and emergencies than in gold ornaments. In fact investment of gold is of greater utility, as at the time of distress gold ornaments are sold or pawned in terms very unfavourable to the seller or pawner. For ornaments use of gold should be abjured.

The economy has changed as times have changed. Gold as ornaments is a loss not only to the nation but to the person. We have got to change our mental outlook. Western ideas and habits are becoming popular with us. Let us learn this also from them. Gold as ornaments is out of fashion there. Let that be the case here also. It is here that enlightened thinking should permeate Indian womanhood. Let women belonging to Congress take the lead. On them devolves great responsibility. I hope they will prove equal to the occasion.

———

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INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

—CHESTER BOWLES
U. S. Ambassador to India.

In the 18 years since independence India has had no better or more consistent friend than the United States. Throughout her long struggle for independence, the great majority of Americans stood solidly behind India. During World War II successive special representatives, whom President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent to India were so outspokenly sympathetic to Gandhi and to the Indian freedom cause that their withdrawal was requested by the Viceroy.

After independence America was the first nation to offer technical assistance to the Indian Government. In 1951, during my earlier service here as U.S. Ambassador, I signed the first capital grant or loans agreement with any Asian or African nation. These particular funds helped to finance India's massive programme to eradicate malaria and to launch the community-development programme which now embrace all of India's 550,000 villages. Since then the United States has loaned or given to India Rs. 1,200 crores ($2.5 billion) worth of capital goods and technical assistance. These funds have constituted 58 percent of all the foreign assistance which India has utilized during this period.

MASSIVE COMMITMENTS

More specifically, United States assistance has provided the foreign exchange for 56 percent of India's electric power development; it has helped to modernize India's transportation, to finance the irrigation of millions of acres of Indian farm land, to establish seven modern agricultural universities, to cut roads through the mountains, and to equip the Indian Army and Air Force.

In addition to these capital loans and grants the United Sates in the past 14 years has delivered to India 35 million tons of food grains; right now these shipments amount to more than a million tons a month. Milk from America is now being drunk each day by 10 million Indian school children.

Having mentioned America's massive commitments to Indian economic development, let us consider with total frankness some of the political questions which have divided us and also those which have helped pull us together.

In 1950, in collaboration with Joseph Stalin, the Chinese mounted a major attack on the U.N. forces which were defending South Korea. The ultimate target of this aggression was unarmed Japan, which, as the most advanced industrial nation in Asia, was a tempting target for Chinese ambitions. In the cultural struggle which followed, India assumed a neutral position, as it did in the periods when free Berlin has been under heavy pressure.

On numerous occasions during the following years the United States Government warned India and our other Asian friends that the Chinese Communist leadership had massive expansionist ambitions. However, war-weary Japan held itself aloof, as did the other three major Asian Nations — India, Indonesia, and Pakistan.

During this difficult period of the 1950's the responsibility of containing Chinese aggression and pinning down some 100 tough, well-trained Chinese army divisions rested almost entirely on the United States. Although our efforts to contain China were not particularly popular in India, one may wonder what kind of Asia we would have today if the United States had decided during those crucial years to sacrifice its convictions for India's approval.

In the late 1950s, as we had predicted, China began to build its case against India as an 'aggressor' along the Himalayan borders. Because these claims were blatant falsehoods, India under Jawaharlal Nehru courageously rejected them, at the same time working patiently for a peaceful settlement.

PROMPT RESPONSE

In October 1962, when the Chinese forces suddenly attacked along India's northern frontier, the United States responded firmly and promptly to a call for assistance. Within two days giant U.S. Air Force C-130 cargo planes were disgorging massive quantities of machine guns, rifles, mountain artillery, radios, ammunition, and other military supplies on Indian airfields for the support of the jawans who were

defending India's borders against the Chinese onslaught.

Here in India it is not a question of survival. India has survived for thousands of years and, come what may, will survive for many thousands more to come. The key question is: can India expand her economy fast enough and by democratic methods to permit the maximum freedom to each citizen ?

You know that you can achieve this objective and so do we. More specifically, we believe that you can grow enough food to free yourself of foreign imports within five or six years.

Within ten years, through your own determined efforts and with the help of your friends, we believe India can generate the necessary capital savings to do without foreign economic assistance altogether.

We Americans not only believe these things; we have been betting on them and betting heavily with the economic assistance which has been steadily flowing into Indian ports from the United States for so many years.

Now what is the purpose of this American aid? Certainly our objective, as some here have charged, has not been to exert political pressure on the Indian Government. On some of the key questions which most directly affect American interests, India has on occasion taken a position quite different from our own.

For instance, on the question of Vietnam, I have yet to meet an Indian leader who was not concerned over the Chinese threat to overrun Southeast Asia. Yet some have criticized our efforts to cut Hanoi's supply lines to the North Vietnamese-directed forces in South Vietnam. It is ironic that North Vietnam was one of the first nations to support the Chinese ultimatum against India last September.

I have also read in some Indian newspapers that the United States has been using our PL-480 food grains to somehow shape Indian political thinking. Let me say with great emphasis that this charge is utter unadulterated nonsense.

We deeply believe that the primary problem which must be tackled is economic development. Living standards must be rapidly increased and the basis laid for expanding agricultural production and the development of modern self-sufficient industrial establishments. Future assistance can only be effective when the public focus returns decisively to development.

Now let me emphasize one additional point.

The American Ambassador with the late Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Although there have been no political strings on U. S. aid to India, my country has gained considerable experience in some 60 developing countries in regard to the development policies which are likely to be most effective.

The American people and the American Congress need to be convinced that our aid money is well used. It is our responsibility to continue carefully to examine developmental plans on which American money is spent.

India's economic performance in the past ten years has been generally good and in some areas outstanding. But in all frankness, we agree with those Indian economists and political leaders who think it can and must be better.

For instance, we agree that agriculture must be given the very highest priority and India's efforts to control the growth of her population intensified and expanded so that each Indian citizen can be assured the improved living standard which modern technology now makes possible.

We also agree with those Indian experts who believe that it is essential to facilitate the import of spare parts and raw materials, the lack of which are now causing thousands of plants in India to run far below their capacity.

Finally we are convinced that the Indian economy will grow faster if India borrows from the experience of Japan, Italy, and other fast-growing democratic countries which give greater encouragement to private industries, large and small, domestic and foreign.

As India and America consider the interrelated question of mutual objectives, self-sufficiency, and assistance, it is useful to remember that almost every prosperous nation has relied in large measure on foreign capital and foreign technicians for its own development.

U. S. Peace Corps Volunteer Eugene Meyer who helped a Maharashtrian farmer to grow record Hybrid Maize

U. S. Assisted Hydro Power Plant at Kakki, Kerala.

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(18)

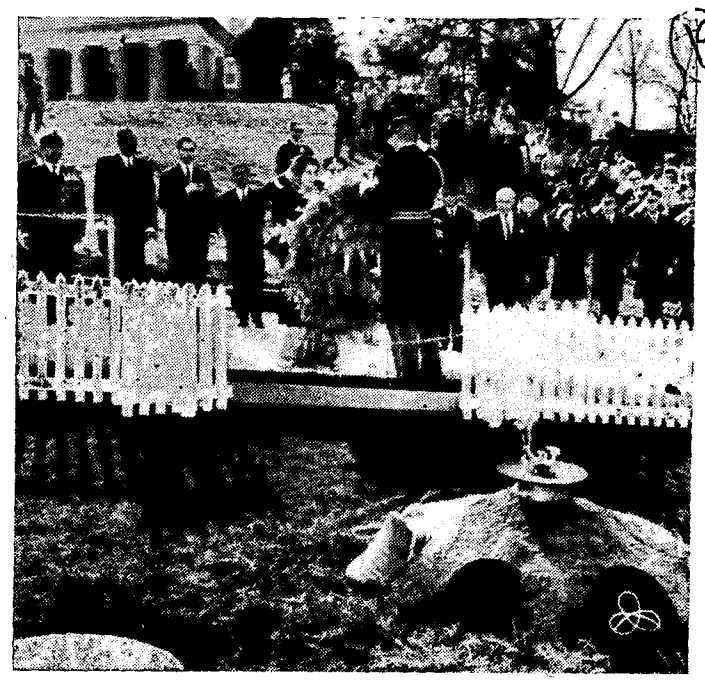
SMT. INDIRA GANDHI'S VISIT ABROAD

President Lyndon B. Johnson escorts Prime Minister Indira Gandhi from his office at the White House after their first meeting following the Prime Minister's arrival.

President and Mrs Lyndon B. Johnson are pictured with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, before a state dinner they gave in her honour at the White House in Washington. Behind them are, from left; Ambassador of India to the U.S. Braj Kumar Nehru, Mrs. Humphrey (partly hidden) and Vice President Humphrey.

Mrs. Gandhi receiving the Hon'ble Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York, when the latter called on her at the Carlyle Hotel, New York, during her visit to New York.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi stand at attention with president and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson as national anthems are played at arrival ceremonies welcoming her to Washington.



Mrs. Gandhi places a wreath at the grave of the late President John F. Kennedy during her visit to Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia.

Mrs. Gandhi signing the Visitors Book at the National Press Club, Washington, before joining the luncheon given in her honour.

SARVODAYA

—U. N. DHEBAR

It is common experience that the moment we try to concretise an idea or try to compress it in words, it loses a bit of its content and substance. It has happened with many a concept in the past. It is happening with the concept of democracy and more so of socialism. This has also happened with the concept of Sarvodaya.

I would, therefore, like to separate the concept of Sarvodaya from limited perspectives that have come to be attributed to this concept in the last decade. I do not want to convey thereby that any one or any group has done so deliberately. It just happens that when we try to implement any concept it gets, because of factors beyond our control, surrounded by various limited notions which have importance for the time being but which have no fundamental bearing on the idea.

NOT SECTARIAN

First and foremost Sarvodaya is not a sectarian or religious concept. It has as much to do with religions as modern philosophy has to do with them. Philosophy is an assessment of total life of mankind as a whole; religions deal with parts and groups though they claim to speak on behalf of the humanity as a whole. In the subjective sphere the concept of Sarvodaya tries to project on one's motivations, a new light with a view to test them on the basis of new values. In the objective sphere it defines the relationship between a human being towards human beings, it defines the quality of that relationship. Man's relationship to man again is not something wholly objective. It is rooted in the motivation of man who think of such relationship. If the motivation is one that is governed by lower instinctive reactions that relationship at the objective level is bound to suffer from the limitations of lower instincts, in other words it will be governed by considerations of hunger, sex, fear or hatred. If that relationship is based upon traditional or customary notions, it is bound to be conservative in its objective manifestation. A follower of Gandhiji can also be a traditionalist or conservative. He may style himself as a Sarvodaya worker. But that need not mean that he is representing the spirit of Sarvodaya.

Similarly Sarvodaya has no partiality for particular approach to means of production, distribution and exchange. While Sarvodaya worker has necessarily to consider what the relationship will be between the employer and the employee, his work neither begins nor ends with that consideration.

Nor does Sarvodaya disregard science. In fact it is all for progress in science. It only adds that science by itself has to be scientific..

It has likewise little to do with particular types of disciplines such as wearing particular types of clothes, eating particular types of food, believing in certain maxims of philosophy.

I am saying all this because it is possible to limit the concept of Sarvodaya. It will be wrong for anyone to interpret in this narrow sense.

'Sarvodaya' is the title of the translation of Ruskin's book **'Unto the Last'** by Gandhiji. That book does not so much deal with religion as it deals with the motivation of an employer and the fundamental relationship between man and man. It does not also talk of tradition or custom. In fact it acts in defiance of the prevail-

ing custom and tradition. It does not try to define man's relationship to the means of production, distribution and so on. It exposes the inadequacy of the existing relationship.

Ruskin lays down a law that has not only pecuniary or earthly significance but has a more vital significance. "Do we feel, acknowledge and admit" he asks "that all men with whom we come in contact need what we need in terms of food, shelter, clothing, education, health and outlet for creative urges"! Ruskin and Gandhiji wanted us to bear witness to our own motivation to test our sensitiveness to the cause of human justice. They put the question to us "Do you realise and accept that your neighbour needs what you need to satisfy your physical, mental and moral needs." Mind you, neither Ruskin nor Gandhiji were interested in verbal acknowledgments, even if they were not unmindful of human limitations. They were chiefly concerned with examination at the subjective level of the preponderent motivation of their followers. They were clear that the objective functioning of their followers would be sound only if it was rooted in a conviction that it is their responsibility to secure to all what they consider essential for themselves in basic human needs. Conviction is neither momentary nor superficial.

CONGRESS WEDDED TO SOCIAL JUSTICE

So far as Congress is concerned, it should be made clear that its concept of Democratic Socialism is not identical with Sarvodaya. Those who attended the AICC Session at Berhampur in 1955 might remember that an amendment was moved by Shri Gokulbhai Bhat, a delegate from Rajashtan, that the Congress should accept 'Sarvodaya' as its goal. Panditji opposed this idea. He opposed it very rightly. He realised as few did that while the Congress would accept anything he suggested, what was needed was that the Congressmen should understand the implications of what they accepted. The Indian National Congress is wedded to the cause of social justice. But it would be a mere paper claim if the Congress were to say that it accepts the implications of the concept of Sarvodaya.

For instance if the Congress were to accept the Sarvodaya concept of 'unto the last', the direct outcome of it would be that the Congress Governments would render themselves liable to provide work and equal wages at the basic minimum level. Secondly the Congress would have to legislate for application of the principle of Trusteeship. Then again the principle of Sarvodaya implies building from below; as every one knows our planning follows at best Keynes and neither Ruskin nor Gandhiji.

But non-acceptance by the Congress (even if it be for justifiable reasons) of the objective of Sarvodaya does not mean that the principle is unworkable or impracticable. Selection of one economic concept does not mean all others are unworkable. It is all a question of political judgment of the leadership. Congress leadership looking to its own capacity decided otherwise. But that should not mean that the concept is inapplicable to Indian conditions.

The Sarvodaya concept is, in my opinion, more than relevant. It is recognised that it is the lever of change ultimately that shapes the new social set up that follows. The lever that the Savodaya School suggests is the 'last man' the rural mass, Janshakti or Lokshakti. Sarvodaya School has not yet found a key to awaken this sleeping giant. But under the leadership of Vinobaji, it is sincerely trying do so.

CONCEPT OF SARVODAYA

The concept of Sarvodaya is utterly rational. India has a history of seven hundred years of social inertia. No country can develop unless this mass is energised. If our efforts are not showing rsults, it is because we have yet to awaken large masses of people and have to prove to them that it is only through their efforts that the race of development can be finally won.

Secondly the Sarvodaya concept aims at a peaceful non-violent change. Alternative to non-violent changes is an invitation to violent changes. In this sense Sarvodaya has a definite role to play in working out peaceful changes in our social structure.

Sometimes it is pointed out that the Sarvodaya concept cannot be made acceptable to the modern mind. It is true that the Sarvodaya movement has not succeeded in influencing thinkers in India. That mind because of historical reasons is more influenced by considerations of career and comfort. But the fault is not with the modern mind or the Sarvodaya movement. It is with those who have presented an image of happiness before it which is to say the least unrealistic in Indian conditions.

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(22)

SMT. GANDHI'S VISIT ABROAD (CONTD.)

Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, with President Johnson (right) and the U, S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Robert McNamara at the reception given by her at the Indian Embassy Washington, during her visit to the States.

The parting of the Premiers of India and of the Soviet Union was warm and cordial. Photo shows Mrs. Gandhi shaking hands with Alexei Kosygin near the air liner.

Mrs. Gandhi with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, during her brief stop-over in London on her return journey from the United States.

Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, being received warmly by Mr. Bottomley, Commonwealth Secretary, at London airport.

CONGRESS ELECTORAL STRATEGY

—NARADA

"The Congress is ace of trumps, beware of Leftist tricks:" this was the slogan of S. K. Patil when he directed the Congress campaign during the mid term election in Andhra Pradesh twelve years ago. He fashioned his electoral strategy on the same principle and it paid rich dividends.

The present Congress President has a reputation as a skilful election campaigner, having been trained by the redoubtable S. Satyamurty. And it is not surprising that he should have had rounds of talks with Congress of Parliament from various States about the next general election scheduled to be held early next year.

The Congress High Command discussed the election strategy with the Chief Ministers of the States when they met in conclave at New Delhi. The early bird gets the vote : this seems to be the guiding principle of Kamaraj. The discussions gave ample indication of the electoral strategy of the Congress; and there is no doubt that the forthcoming meeting of the AICC will give the finishing touches to it in private discussions.

OVER SHADOWS POLITICAL HORIZON

It is clear that the Congress cannot be challenged on the national plane by any of the Opposition parties or even a combination of several of them. The ruling party is not nervous of any cyclone from the Left or any sandsstorm from the Right. It is not as though the Congress has a monopoly of political wisdom or ministerial ability. But the stark fact has to be admited that it overshadows the political horizon.

The Swatantra Party had great hopes of becoming an alternative to the Congress; but the hopes have turned out to be dupes. Rightly or wrongly, it is identified in the public mind as the party of Big Business which would drag India into the American camp as a satellite.

In Rajasthan and Orissa, the party is no more than the mouthpiece of the erstwhile princes. In several States like Assam, West Bengal and Kerala, the party has hardly taken roots; the climate is unfavourable. It has lost its influence in some other States like Bihar.

The Swatantra has collected a lot of talking points against the Congress; but the electorate has ever been chary of trusting those who talk too much. Moreover, the Swatantra has never built up a rank and file; it is a party with few followers.

The Jan Sangh has pockets of influence in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and the Punjab. During the recent agitation against the formation of a Punjabi Suba, the Sangh leaders took a leading part. The Jan Sangh tried to capitalise on the tragic events of Bastar but the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh turned the tables on them by linking them with dacoits.

The Sangh is completely out of the picture in all the Southern States. It has yet to make any headway in Gujarat. In Eastern Indian States, it is hardly known; and though the founder of the party was the late Shyam Prasad Mukherjee, its hold on Bengal it tenuous.

There is no doubt that the rank and file of the Jan Sangh is alike disciplined and dedicated. It may be that the Sangh is no more than the external projection of the RSS as Pandit Mishra averred in the Madhya Pradesh Assembly. But the Congress will have to reckon with the Sangh organisation at least in four States.

On the Left, the Communists posed a formidable challenge at one time. But the party is hopelessly divided on ideological and personal grounds. E. M. S. Nambudiripad has flatly rejected any idea of electoral alliance with the Right Communists.

His group is in a position to challenge the Congress in Kerala and West Bengal. So far as the Lok Sabha is concerned, not even his partisans expect any appreciable accretion of strength.

SPLINTER GROUPS

There are the other splinter groups of the Left ranging from the SSP to the FB, the PWP

to the P. S. P. Most of them hang between two worlds, the one dead and the other powerless to be born. They lost their **raison d'etre** when the Congress accepted Socialism as its goal. But they do not want to lose their individuality. They have no more than a nuisance value at the hustings.

That is not to say that the Congress will have an easy victory at the polls next year. Popular discontent was never so vocal as today. The burden of taxation is crippling and prices have soared to dizzy heights. The food situation is causing great anxiety and there have been riots in several part of the country. The tribals are on the rampage.

These difficulties will be exploited by the Opposition groups ranging from the Swatantra to the Left Communists. That is precisely why the present Congress president wants to finalise his electoral strategy.

There has been a lot of complaint from the Opposition leaders that the Congress funds are collected from business tycoons. Such a propaganda cannot but influence the common man. That is precisely why the Congress High Command is thinking confining their appeal for funds to the middle class, workers and agriculturists.

If such an appeal is to succeed, it requires an army of selfless workers. Though the Congress has been dented by internecine wanglings in many places, the organisation is fairly intact. As was pointed out recently, the Congress which was able to collect crores from ordinary people during the freedom struggle when it was in the wilderness, should be able to repeat the performance.

It was Churchill who once said: "Many have defended Britain against her enemies, but none can defend her against herself." The same can be said of the Congress; though no other party can challenge its supremacy, it can succumb to disintegration.

Except in Maharashtra and Madras, there is not much coordination between the organisational and ministerial wings. The two wings should be like the two blades of a pair of scissors, ready to scissor anyone who comes between them. But that is not the case.

TRIPLE MISNOMER

In Uttar Pradesh, the two wings are ranged against each other. The gibe is often repeated that the organisation has become a triple misnomer like the Holy Roman Empire and that it is now a caucus and not a Congress. Group rivalries and personal animosities are dragging down the party.

It was only the other day that the official Congress nominee was defeated in the election to the Maharashtra Legislative Council from the Bombay Corporation, though the Congress has a clear majority in the civic body. What guarantee is there that this type of tactics will not be followed by dissidents?

The Congress High Command seems to have made up its mind not to tolerate any sort of indiscipline. The Central Parliamentary Board will be strengthened and Methusalehs will be asked to take a back seat. The Congress president is anxious that the Congress nominees for those constituencies which were lost in the last general election should be announced well ahead of schedule. He wants the candidates to tour the constituencies and get into personal touch with the electorate.

There is no doubt that casteism and communalism will play part in the election at least in some of the States. The Justice party is coming back to life the Phoenix. The Muslim League is breathing fire and brimstone. The Nair and the Ezhava communal organisations are at loggerheads over the question of admission to communal organisations.

The Congress president wants to create an atmosphere of success, for nothing succeeds like success. His slogan seems to be: **Back the winning horse by giving him all your oats** (votes).

At the same time, he wants to make the voters' flesh creep that if the Congress is defeated, stability will be affected. It is a two-pronged drive and the appeal is to the voters not to cut their nose to spite the face of the Congress.

The Congress can well adopt slogan which S. K. Patil used with devastating effect in 1952: **The hand that votes Congress serves the nation.**

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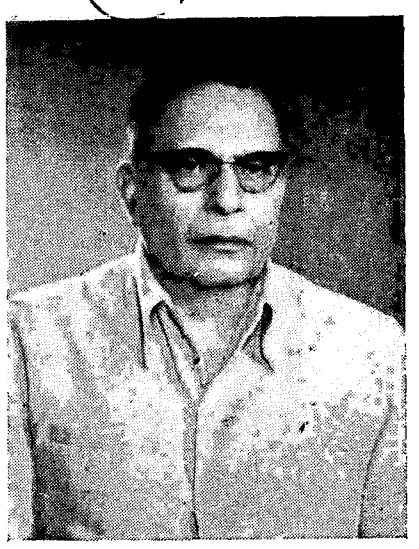
THE PROBLEM OF INDIA



—DR. HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

The problem is not so much political or economic but it is moral says the author who was a former Governor of Bombay and a former Chief Minister of Orissa.....Ed.

It is now admitted in all circles that the drive and enthusiasm required for the purpose of leading a developing country to the stage of full development have been lacking in India for the last many years. Enthusiasm which was created by attainment of independence resulted in Five Year Plans for development. The first and the 2nd Five Year Plans created hopes all around the country. Enthusiasm of the people was visible everywhere. There was competition even among the rural people to make sacrifices for the purpose of improving their conditions. About the middle of the Third Five Year Plan not only popular enthusiasm dwindled but sharp reaction in the shape of discontent became visible everywhere. To-day an atmosphere of frustration prevails all over the country. The psychological process through which the country is passing should be carefully examined.

The Five Year Plans opened the door to economic prosperity with the assumption that the prosperity or even the hope for it will not create any change in the mind of men. The mental make up of an individual or of a society depends on the prevailing circumstances particularly the economic conditions. The Indian Plans, however, did not take into account the development of the human factor in economic development. The desire for economic prosperity without the necessary moral check to control it grew wildly in the country beginning from the villages to the cities. The result has been de-moralisation on a large scale in all spheres beginning from Panchayats to the Central Government.

Ruling party i.e the Congress and the sections of people as they do have become victims of the general prevailing conditions of the society. To achieve something great requires a disciplined life to undergo difficulties and to mae sacrifices and at the same time the determination to overcome them and have the pleasure of success at the end. Instead of a life of this kind we have now developed a life of ease expecting the rest of the world to help us in leading a life of this kind. The life of ease does not take into account either individual or national self respect. It indulges in crude display of hunger for power and pelf. It indulges in all kinds of mechanisations for the purpose of remaining in power to continue to enjoy. It does not realise how and when the power slips away un-noticed and the memesis comes without warning.

It is to be considered whether or not India is moving towards that stage. The Community development work first started with an appeal to the people to make sacrifices for the development work. It has now ended in pandering the demands of people in order to secure their pleasure and support. Indiscipline in the shape of corruption and lawlessness both in the administration and amongst the people is rampant everywhere. Moral leadership does not appear to be anywhere, although the authority of the arms is visible even in the half-naked tribal area of Bastar. The authority of arms without the corresponding moral authority has proved to be dangerous in all countries at all times.

The problem, now therefore, is not so much political or economical but it is really a moral problem. A country, having the leadership

(Contd. on page 67)

GLIMPSES OF GOKHALE

—JUNIUS

It was Gandhiji who described Gopal Krishna Gokhale as an ideal political worker—"pure as crystal, gentle as a lamp, brave as a lion, and chivalrous to a fault". The Mahatma continued: "I could discover no fault in him to cavil at. He was and remains for me the most perfect man on the political field".

Sarojini Naidu who knew Gokhale intimately marvelled by what austere process he was able to reconcile and assimilate the complex and often conflicting qualities of his essentially dual personality into so supreme an achievement of single-hearted patriotism.

There was the outer man as the world knew and esteemed him, with his precise and brilliant and subtle intellect, his unrivalled gifts of political analysis and synthesis, his flawless and relentless mastery and use of the consummate logic of co-ordinated facts and figures, his courteous but inexorable candour in opposition, his patient dignity and courage in honourable compromise, the breadth and restraint, the vigour and veracity of his far-reaching statesmanship, the lofty simplicities and sacrifices of his daily life.

Breaking through the veils of his many self-repressions was the inner man in all his intense, impassioned hunger for human kinship and affection, in all the tumult and longing, the agony of doubt and ecstasy of faith of the born idealist, perpetually seeking some unchanging reality in a world full of shifting disillusion and despair. Sarojini Naidu felt that both the practical, stenuous worker and the mystic dreamer of dreams were harmonized by the age-long discipline of his Brahmanical ancestry which centuries before had evolved the spirit of the Bhagavad Gita and defined true Yoga as Wisdom in Action.

A rare entry in his diary gives the clue to the lofty momentum which motivated him all his life. Gokhale never kept a regular diary and he advised his followers in the Servants of India Society not to do so. In those days of political ferment, the British authorities were very suspicious of political workers; and even perfectly innocent entries were twisted out of shape and given a colour of sedition.

On February 5, 1899 when he was thirty-two years old, Gokhale made an entry in his diary. He invoked his tutellary diety, Sri Guru Dattatreya, and undertook humbly to practise yoga regularly and to study history, philosophy, astronomy, geology and psychology. He would learn French. He would try to become a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, the Imperial Legislative Council and the British Parliament; and in these bodies, he would try to do good to his country by all means in his power. He would also preach the highest philosophy to the whole world. It was no small programme.

Gokhale became a member of the Bombay and Imperial Legislative Councils but not of the British Parliament. He was keen that six representative Indians should find a place in the House of Commons. They would represent the Indian point of view before the sovereign Parliament. If they combined, they would exert a moral force greater than their number would warrant. Above all, their presence in Parliament

would elevate India from subjection to equality with other members of the Empire.

Gokhale was not free from police surveillance. On one occasion, a British Member of the Bombay Government twitted him with having made a seditious speech. On Gokhale's expressing surprise, the official pulled out a police report of the speech and asked Gokhale to read it! Gokhale was shocked. The official smiled and said he knew Gokhale would not have made such a speech and he did not, therefore give any credence to the report. Whereupon, Gokhale observed that because the official knew him well, he discounted the report. Otherwise he might have taken action on the strength of the untrue report.

Gokhale met Dr. Annie Besant first at a Theosophical meeting in Poona. He plied her with unsympathetic questions. Impatiently she burst out that when young Gokhale came to be of her age,he would understand the answers better! Whereupon he decided not to join the Theosophical Society. But for long, he was claimed to be a member of it. It would appear that some friend of his quietly paid his subscription for membership without his consent, though perhaps not without his knowledge altogether. Though he was not a member of that Society, Gokhale had great respect and reverence for Dr. Besant for her unparalleled services to India. But he was half back from joining her political activities because of the influence on him of Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshah Wacha who kept her at arm's length. But Gokhale advised Srinivasa Sastri to stand by her.

In his early days of political activity, Gokhale conformed to the orthodox customs of the Poona Brahman. He would change into the time-honoured silk dhoti when he sat for meals, and he wore the typical tuft of hair at the back of his head and tied into a knot. He wore the **yajnopavitham** or the sacred thread for many years and gave it up only at the instance of his Brahmo friends, Mrs. P.K. Roy of Calcutta.

Mrs. Roy and Gokhale were discussing after dinner the current theme whether poliical reform or social reform should come first. Angrily,Mrs. Roy challenged Gokhale about the orthodox habits of social reformers who observed caste, idolatry, ceremonies for the dead and other obsolete rituals. She climaxed by asserting that even Gokhale wore under his shirt the sacred thread as a proof of his Brahmanism and taunted him with lack of sincerity in his professions as a social reformer. Gokhale grew grave.

The next morning, Mrs. Roy received a sealed envelope enclosing his sacred thread cut into two pieces, with the following words on a slip of paper : "Many thanks for rousing me. I own that I had no business to wear my sacred thread when I did not believe in it. Henceforth I shall try to act according to my convictions. Forgive."

It was an anglicised Gokhale that Sarojini Naidu met in London in wholly unfamiliar European garments and actually an English top hat. Sarojini stared at him for a moment and asked:"Where is your rebellious turban ?" But she soon got accustomed to that new phase of her old friend, to a social Gokhale who attended parties and frequented theatres, played bridge and entertained ladies at dinner on the terrace of the National Liberal Club, a far cry from the terrace of the Servants of India Society.

Gokhale believed strongly in astrology and received fortnightly forecasts of happenings to him from an astrologer. He was fond of playful betting too and would bet on all occasions. Another habit of his was that he filled a shaving soap container with gold sovereigns and kept it with him. When it was stolen, he promptly replaced it.

In his younger days, Gokhale played tennis but later gave it up and took to walking for exercise but did not keep up even that for long. Once he watched Srinivasa Sastri and R.P. Paranjpye at a game of tennis. The game was strenuous and did not declare itself easily. Gokhale could not bear to see his favourite pupil, Paranjpye, being extended by a comparative stranger like Sastri and cried out to the former: "It is a misery to me to see you dragged about by Sastri." Even Gokhale was of "flesh and blood," thought Sastri.

Gokhale suffered from diabetes and was ordered strict diet, which he did not always observe. He insisted on having brinjals daily, seasoned with chillies in abundance. Ghee he avoided like poison; he could not endure others enjoying it! He was, however, very fond of curds, particularly the Maharashtrian preparation of it namely **shrikhand.** He once told Lord Kitchener that he forgave the Peshwa

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HOUSE OF CHOWGULES

INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS AT GOA:

Chowgule & Company Private Limited.
Chowgule Brothers
Chowgule Steamships Ltd.
Chowgule Industries Private Ltd.
Chowgule Engineering Co. Private Ltd.
Chowgule Real Estate & Construction Co. Private Ltd.
Goa Food Products Private Ltd.
Goa Pesticides Private Ltd.
Cartybon Private Ltd.
Chowgule Textile Mills Ltd.
Minas e Minerais de Goa SARL

INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS AT BOMBAY AND KOLHAPUR:

Chowgule & Co. (Hind) Private Ltd.
Chowgule Chemicals Private Ltd.
Chowgule Metal Industries Ltd.
Canera Works Private Ltd.
Janata Machine Tools Private Ltd.
Kolhapur Oxygen & Acetyline Private Ltd.
Mainland Docks Ltd.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS:

Shrimati Parvatibai Chowgule Cultural Foundation.
Chowgule Education Society.
Shrimati Parvatibai Chowgule College of Arts & Sciences Margao
St. Joseph's Institute, Vasco-da-Gama.
School on Mines at Sirigao, Pale, Costi, and Sacorda.
Marathi Daily-"Gomantak"
English Daily-"The Gomantak"

INDIRA GANDHI

—R. P. AIYAR

When Lal Bahadur Shastri included Indira Gandhi in his ministry, a columnist wrote that she was the second woman to be elevated to cabinet rank, in free India, the first being Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. But Indiraji's appointment was not a concesion to feminist aspiration.

Equally fatuous was the comment of Madame Padit when her niece was elected the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party: "When a Nehru is chosen Prime Minister, the people will rejoice." The irrespressible Lohia went on record that the contest for the Prime ministership was between "monarchy" and puritanism. Indiraji has no need to shine in the reflected glory of the incandescent Jawaharlal. In her own right, she has an impressive record of achievements.

This is not the first time that Indira has been called upon to shoulder onerous responsibility. At a time of storm and stress, she accepted the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress which Gandhiji once piquantly described as "the crown of thorns." She was the third woman to preside over the destinies of the national organisation, the first two being Dr. Annie Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta presided over one of the banned sessions; but she is not included in the presidential gallery.

As Congress President, Indira proved that she was no more rubber stamp. She showed that she had a mind of her own and that she could take and sustain decisions on important issues. She infused new life into the organisation and the AICC headquarters hummed with activity and ceased to be a mere post office issueing directions to the Pradesh and district commitees.

The country was passing through a great crisis. The reorganisation of the States had been carried out; but there was grave unrest in biligual Bombay. Ever sensitive to public opinion, she was among the first to realise that a democracy could not swim against the public current. She sensed the determination of Maharashtrians and Gujaratis; and she played a significant role in the bifurication of Bombay. She was not overcome by passion or influence by prejudice in tackling this thorny problem.

There was the popular upsurge in Kerala against the Communist Ministry. Indira toured Kerala more than once and studied the situation at first hand. She was convinced that the view held in certain high circles in New Delhi that the agitation was backed only by disgruntled communalists was utterly wrong. She was opposed to the suggestion that the Communist ministry should be propped up by military assistance from the Centre. It was as a result of her firm attitude that the Communist Ministry was dismissed by the President and the administration taken over by the Centre.

PRESIDENTSHIP

Her presidentship of the Congress was unique in the rich and varied annals of the organisation. Pandit Motilal Nehru had presided over the Congress twice; and her father had worn the diadem on several occasions. It is rarely that three successive generations have the privilege within four decades, of presiding over the destinies of a great political party.

It was but natural for Indira to gravitate towards the struggle for Swaraj. She was a toddler of four years when Jawaharlal was arrested and sent to prison for the first time. There is an

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SMT. INDIRA GANDHI

apocryphal story that the toddler mounted her nursery table and addressed an assembly of dolls, calling upon them to court imprisonment with her father. When I asked her about this story (during her tour of Kerala as Congress President), she laughed and said: "Even at that age, I could have collected an audience!"

It is however a fact that when princely Motilal was being tried in a court of law, Indira sat on her grandfather's lap, her first experience of the dock.

Even as a teenager ,Indira defied the laws of the British. She was duly imprisoned; but it did not damp her ardour. Anand Bhavan which had resounded with laughter and revelry in the first two decades of the century was forlorn in the thirties. Jawaharlal was mostly in prison; and the fragile but indomitable . Kamala was alternating between prison and sanatorium. The fact has rarely been taken into consideration by carping critics who accuse Indira of being cold, almost glacial. It is a measure of her essential humanity that these sufferings have not left any scars of bitterness.

In his **autobiography,** Jawaharlal has admitted that he was wholly opposed to Indira joining any official university. That is why she was educated at Shantiniketan, later at Switzerland, finishing at the Somerville College, Oxford. When Gandhiji launched the "Quit India" campaign, Indira found herself in jail again. During all these years, she had rendered yeoman, albeit silent, work for the Congress.

Gandhiji had a special corner in his heart for this young and lonely girl. That was why when he started his epic fast against the Communal Award, he made a special reference in his telegram to Jawaharlal about Indira looking more happy and being "in possession of more flesh."

Shortly after the Transfer of Power, Gandhiji selected her to work in the riot affected areas of Delhi. Her work won high commendation from Lord Mountbatten.

The advent of freedom saw her in a new role. Her father was Prime Minister; and more than ever before, she became his **Priyadarshini.** She was very much more than a mere chatelaine and a social figurehead. She looked after Jawaharlal with devotion, played hostess to his illustrious guests and accompanied him on many foreign tours. She watched at first hand the arts of government diplomacy and statesmanship.

MOVING FORCE

Indira became a member of the Congress Working Committee in 1955 and was later elected to the Central Parliamentary Board. She has been the moving force behind the women's Department of the AICC. During the last two general elections, she campaigned energetically and effectively for the Congress nominees.

Ever interested in the welfare of children, she has been the President of the Indian Council for Child Welfare. She is the founder of the Bal Sahayog. She is associated with the International Union for Child Welfare and she is the patron of the Children's Theatre. It was appropriate that she should have won the Mother's Prize from the United States over a decade ago.

While sharing her mother's quiet and serious disposition, Indira has much of her father's reflectiveness and purposefulness. She has the spirit of her mother and the charm of her father. She has the patience to listen to the opposite point of view. Though impulsive and temperamental, she does not tread on the corns of others. She has toured every nook and corner of India; and she can understand the aspirations of the people.

A fluent and forceful speaker, a competent organiser and a graceful woman of great charm, Indira has ascended the Prime Minister's **gaddi** with the goodwill of India's millions who expect her to carry on the Nehru tradition with zeal and zest. To her has fallen the privilege of proving the strength and maturity of the Indian democracy and thus to inscribe her name indelibly in the history of her motherland.

मध्यप्रदेश की यात्रा कीजिये

"तीर्थ यात्राओं की पावन भूमि"

सांची ... ... जहां भगवान बुद्ध के प्रमुख शिष्य सारिपुत्त और महाभोग्लायन के अवशेष अवस्थित हैं।

उज्जैन ... ... भगवान महाकालेश्वर की नगरी, 'पृथ्वी के केन्द्र' बारह ज्योर्तिलिंगों में से एक।

अमरकंटक ... पतित पावनी नर्मदा का उद्गम स्थान।

चित्रकूट .. ... जहां भगवान राम ने वनवास अवधि का कुछ काल व्यतीत किया और गोस्वामी तुलसीदास को दर्शन दिये।

ओंकार माधाता : पुण्यतोया नर्मदा के बीच 'ओम्' गिरीक पर अवस्थित, बारह ज्योर्तिलिंगों में से एक।

महेश्वर ... ... आद्य शंकराचार्य की चरण धूलि से पुनीता, महिष्मती की पुरातन नगरी।

मध्यप्रदेश में तीर्थ यात्रा एवं दृश्यावलोकन के और भी अनेक दर्शनीय स्थल

... ...
... ...

: सूचना तथा प्रकाशन संचालनालय, मध्य प्रदेश द्वारा प्रसारित :

THE IDEAL OF NATIONALISM

—DESHABANDHU C. R. DAS

What is the ideal which we must set before us? The first and foremost is the ideal of nationalism. Now what is nationalism? It is, I conceive, a process through which a nation expresses itself and finds itself, not in isolation from other nations, not in opposition to other nations but as part of a great scheme by which, in seeking its own expression and therefore its own identity, it materially assists the self expression & self realisation of other nations as well; Diversity is as real as unity. And in order that unity of the world may be established it is essential that each nationality should proceed on its own line and find fulfilment in self-expression and self-realisation. The nationality of which I mention must not be confused with the conception of nationality as its exists in Europe today.

Nationalism in Europe is an aggressive nationalism, a selfish nationalism, a commercial nationalism, of gain and loss. The gain of France is the loss of Germany and the gain of Germany is the loss of France. Therefore, French nationalism is nurtured on the hatred of Germany, and German Nationalism is nurtured on the hatred of France. It is not yet realised that one cannot hurt Germany without hurting humanity, and in consequence hurting France; and that one cannot hurt France without hurting Humanity, and in consequence hurting Germany. That is European nationalism of which I am referring. I contend that each nationality constitutes a particular stream of the great unity, but no nation can fulfiil unless and until it becomes itself and at the same time realise its identity with Humanity. The whole problem of nationalism is therefore to find that stream- and to face that destiny. If you find the current and establish a continuity with the past, then the process of self-expression has begun, and nothing can stop the growth of nationality.

GREAT PURPOSE

Throughout the pages of Indian history, I find a great purpose unfolding itself. Movement after movement has swept over this vast country, apparently creating hostile forces, but in reality stimulating the vitality and moulding the life of the people into one great nationality. If the Aryans and the non-Aryans met, it was for the purpose of making one people out of them. Brahamanism with its great culture succeeded in binding the whole of India and was indeed a mighty unifying force. Buddhism with its protests against Brahmanism served the same great historical purpose; and from Magadha to Texila was one great Buddhistic empire which succeeded not only in broadening the basis of Indian unity, in creating, what is perhaps not less important; the greater India beyond the Himalayas and beyond the seas, so much so that the sacred city (Gaya where the Congress met) may be regarded as a place of pilgrimage of millions and millions of people of Asiatic races. Then came the Mahomedans of diverse races but with one culture which was their common heritage. For a time it looked as if here was a disintegrating force, an enemy to the growth of Indian Nationalism, but the Mahommedans made their home in India, and while they brought a new outlook and a wonderful vitality to the Indian life, with infinite wisdom, they did as little as possible to disturb the growth of life in the villages where India really lives. This new outlook was necessary for India; and if the two sister streams met, it was only to fulfil themselves and free the destiny of Indian history.

INFLUENCE OF ALIEN CULTURE

Then came the English with their alien culture their foreign methods, delivering a rude shock to this growing nationality; but the shock has only completed the unifying process so that the purpose of history is practically fulfilled. The great Indian nationality is in sight. It already stretches its heads across the Himalayas not only to Asia but to the whole of the world, not aggressively, but to demand its recognition, and to offer its contribution. There is no hostility between the ideal of nationality and that of world peace. Nationalism is the process which alone will world peace come. A full and unfettered growth of nationalism is necessary for world peace just as a full and unfettered

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The Congress President

—ARPEE

Every soldier is expected to carry a Field Marshal's baton in his knapsack; but very few rise above the ranks. And it is a measure of the innate strength and inherent ability of K. Kamaraj that he was the Chief Minister of Madras for nearly a decade and the undisputed leader of the Congress in that State for twenty years. Yet the odds were overwhelming against the rise to leadership of this man who is best-riding the contemporary political world like a Colossus.

Kamaraj was not blessed with any of the ingredients that pave the way for leadership. He was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth nor did he hail from an influential family. The only son of poor parents, penury depressed his early years and he had to set about earning a living at a very young age. He is a Nadar by caste; and the Nadars were rated low in the caste hierarchy, being denied admission into Hindu temples till about 27 years ago.

His education was perfunctory; and he never passed beyond the primary school. In the early days of his Chief Ministership, his detractors used to gibe at the spectacle of "an illiterate man ruling the most intellectual State in the country." It was only during his detention following the "Quit India" struggle that he learnt English; and even today, he is chary of speaking in that language.

Nature has not blessed him with an arresting personality. He will scarcely attract attention in a crowd. He does not exude charm like Jawaharlal Nehru nor has he the magnetism of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Dressed in a lungi and shirt, with a towel thrown on his shoulders, he looks the picture of a village rustic.

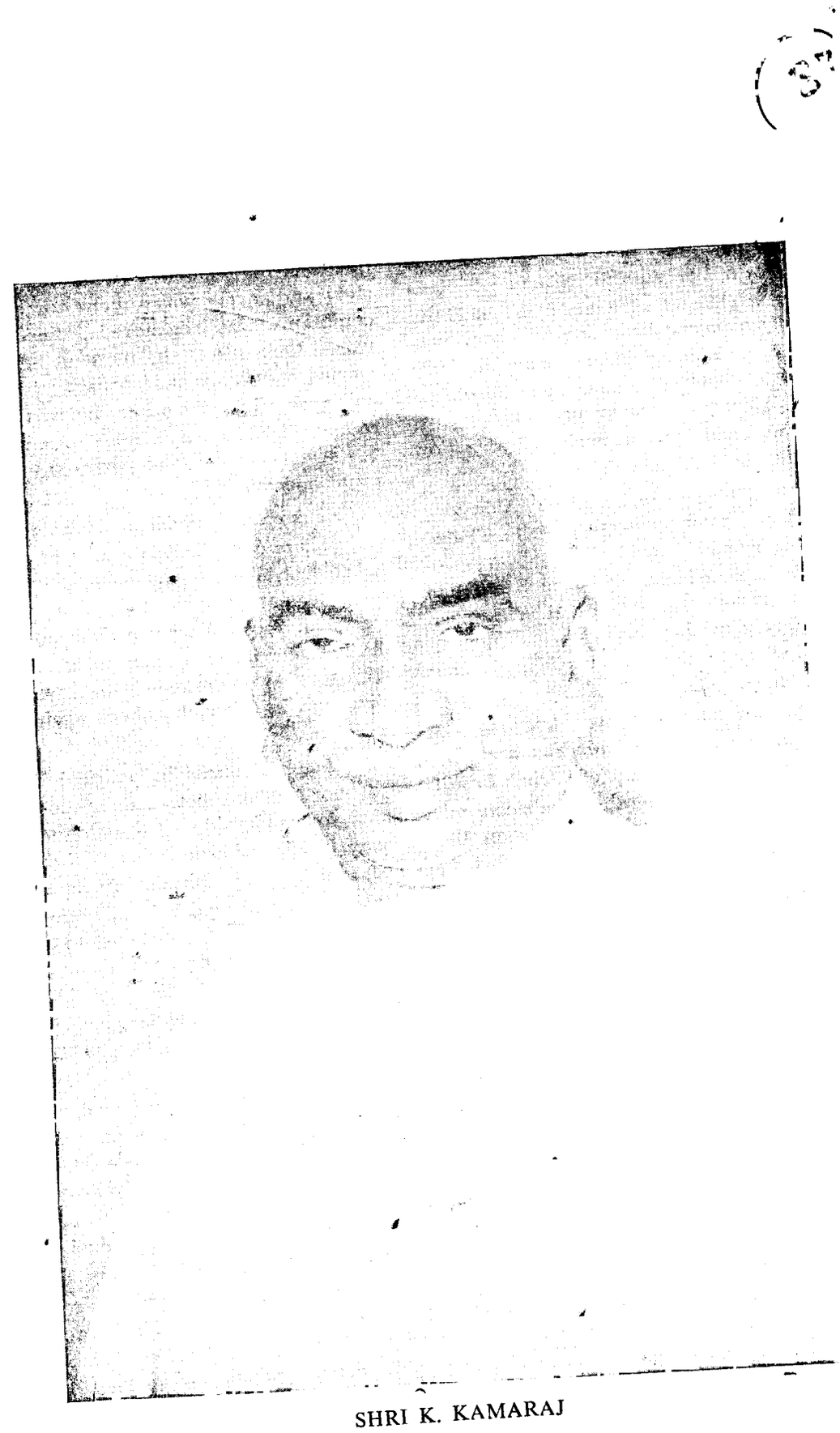
His speeches do not breathe flash and fire. No spell-binder like Periar E. V. Ramaswamy or C. N. Annadorai, (the leaders of the two Kazhagams), he cannot ignite passion in a crowd. His voice is harsh and his delivery pedestrian. This is a serious drawback in a State which has produced outstanding orators like S. Satyamurty and the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri.

How then did Kamaraj, with all these handicaps rise to his present eminence? He has been an ardent Congressman for nearly four decades. His loyalty to the organisation has never waxed and waned with the seasons, nor has it been daunted by imprisonment or depressed by failures. While earning a precarious living at Trivandrum, he was attracted by the Gandhian ideology; and he threw himself heart and soul into the freedom struggle. He participated in every phase of the fight from the boycott of the Simon Commission to the Quit India campaign and in consequence underwent several long terms of imprisonment.

During his long spells in jail, he cultivated his confreres from every nook and corner of Tamil Nad and earned their confidence. And he had the good fortune to attract the attention of S. Satyamurty, a lynx-eyed fisher of talent and a parliamentarian **non-pareil.** Satyamurty developed a great regard for the neophyte; and when he became the President of the Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Committee, he made Kamaraj the General Secretary. This was his opportunity and he displayed organisational ability of a high order.

On the eve of the Ramgarh session of the Congress in 1940, elections were held for the Tamil Nad Provincial Congress. The group following C. Rajagopalachari had nominated for the Presidentship C. P. Subbiah, a silver-tongued orator in Tamil who could sway the masses with his impassioned eloquence. The Satyamurty group set up Kamaraj. It was a bitter contest and Kamaraj won by a comfortable majority. And Satyamurty agreed to be the General Secretary. A new star had arisen in the Tamil firmament. Due to the individual civil disobedience and the Quit India struggle, no elections were held till 1945 and Kamaraj continued as President for six years.

When the Congress returned from the wilderness, it looked as though the decks had been cleared for the continued ascendancy of Kamaraj. Satyamurty had died a couple of years previously and C. Rajagopalachari was suspect in the eyes of many Congressmen be-



SHRI K. KAMARAJ

cause he had opposed the Quit India campaign. Kamaraj was re-elected the President of the Provincial Congress and continued as such for the next seven years.

After the fall of the Prakasam ministry, he became the virtual King-maker of Madras. Whoever was the Chief Minister, his was the dominant voice in the administration. A Reddiar or a Raju might sign official papers as Chief Minister but the momentum behind them was that of Kamaraj. During these years, he perfected the Party machine and his unrivalled hold over it. He was accused of indulging in un-Gandhian methods, but a party organisation cannot be built up with kid gloves.

In the first general election, the Congress in Madras suffered many reverses in the Telugu and Malayalam speaking areas. Rajaji was installed as the Chief Minister of the State and Kamaraj even surrendered his Presidentship of the State Congress to the late Dr. P. Subbaroyan. It looked as though circumstances had put Kamaraj on the shelf.

His chance came again when Andhra was separated from multilingual Madras and the controversial Education Bill of the Rajaji ministry created considerable discontent. Kamaraj jumped into the fray and soon the Rajaji cabinet resigned. Kamaraj decided to wear the mantle of Chief Ministership himself and was elected, though not without a contest. It is an indication of his loyalty to his departed leader and mentor that he called on the widow of S. Satyamurty and requested her blessing before assuming his high office.

Kamaraj was now the undisputed leader of Congress in the State. Madras is one of the few States where the organisation is not riven into cliques; and much of the credit for it must go to Kamaraj. As Chief Minister, he was eminently successful and Madras was considered to be the least ministered and best administered State in the country.

What is the secret of his success? His heart beats in unison with the aspirations of the poor and the downtrodden. His soul revolts against any form of injustice, social or economic. He realises that life has to be made meaningful for the millions who have led a twilight existence. New tracks must be laid for the questing spirit. Kamaraj is wedded to Socialism but he is no dogmatic theorist. He is no old politician in a hurry. His phenomenal energy and his singleness of purpose are unrivalled. Once he has seen his way and set his hands to the plough, he does not turn back.

Easily accessible, Kamaraj is noted for his warm humanity and his affection for people as individuals. Every morning there used to be a queue at his residence (when he was Chief Minister) and rarely was anyone turned away. Every complaint was registered immediately and he would look into it the moment he reached office. During the floods that devasted Tanjore and Trichinopoly five years ago, he was not content to remain in Madras and issue orders. He rushed to the affected areas and personally supervised the relief operations.

He has the capacity to delegate authority which is one of the hall marks of true leadership. He selects his collegues with care; but once they are selected, he gives them his full confidence. He never looks for scapegoats on whom to pass the blame when his policies go awry. As Chief Minister, he commanded the loyalty of the services and he stood by them against unnecessary criticism.

Though ruthless in political fights, Kamaraj does not harbour personal animosities. When he stood for leadership of the Congress Legislature Party in 1953, the name of C. Subramaniam was proposed by M. Bhaktavatsalam against him. And yet he included both of them in his Cabinet. A greater believer in building up a second line of leadership, he has encouraged many young men of promise to come to the fore. He does not squander the human element easily. As an organiser of electoral victory, he can stand comparison with S. K. Patil.

Power did not go to his head. As Chief Minister, he continued to reside in a small house in Mambalam which he had rented when he was President of the Pradesh Congress. He leads a simple life, though he affects no ascetic pose. A bachelor by conviction, he seldom relaxes. He is immersed in public work all day long.

It was because of his affinity with the masses that he evolved the Kamaraj Plan for the revitalisation of the Congress. He realised that because of his official position a wall was being imperceptibly built between him and the common people. Untrammelled by the shackles of office, he could fight the separatist tendencies which had reared their heads in Madras. That is the real genesis of the Kamaraj Plan. How the Plan

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MACHINE TOOL INDUSTRY IN INDIA

—D. SANJIVAYYA
Union Minister for Industry.

Machine tools are called mother machines which build other machines. Machine tools are used for processing metal. It may take anyone of various forms such as cutting, scrapping, polishing, drilling, boring and pressing into the desired shape. The existence of a well developed machine tool manufacturing industry is a pre-requisite for the rapid growth of machinery manufacturing and other engineering industries. As is well known, self-sustained industrial development of any country can be based only on self-sufficiency in the field of machinery manufacture. This means that the machine tool manufacturing industry forms the real base for industrial development.

There was practically no machine tool manufacture in India before the second world war. Due to restrictions on imports during the world war period, the manufacture of certain simpler types of machine tools began in various parts of the country. By 1947, there were 24 units manufacturing graded machine tools, that is those which manufactured machine tools conforming to the specifications prescribed by the inspecting authorities. The value of their total production amounted to about a crore of rupees.

HINDUSTAN MACHINE TOOLS

In view of the importance of the machine tool industry for the industrial development of the country, the Government of India decided to set up a factory at Bangalore in the public sector. A Company known as Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. was registered in 1953. It was designed to manufacture Precision Lathes with the collaboration of the famous Swiss firm of Oerlikons. The factory went into production in 1956. After some teething trouble, the Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. made good progress and showed satisfactory results. Encouraged by the example of Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. as well as by the rising tempo of industrial development in the country, requiring larger use of machine tools, a large number of units began to be set up in the private sector also.

At present there are as many as 80 units in the private sector manufacturing graded machine tools. In 1965-66, they produced machine tools worth about Rs. 15 crores. Besides these units, there is quite a large number of units manufacturing ungraded machine tools. The value of their production is not known, but it is estimated to be of the order of Rs. 3 crores or so.

The Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. produced machine tools worth about Rs. 11 crores during 1965-66. In other words, the total production of graded machine tools during 1965-66 the last year of the Third Five Year Plan, amounted to about Rs. 26 crores. Considering that the machine tool manufacturing industry was hardly in existence at the time of the Independence of the country, the growth of the industry has been quite impressive.

The Table below gives the statistics of graded machine tools produced in the country and imported during the last five years. It will be observed that the share of indigenous production in the total value of machine tools con-

sumed in the country has been constantly going up. Today about 45% of the machine tool requirements of the country are being met by indigenous production :—

Year	Production	Imports
	(Rupees in Crores)	
1961	8.59	26.60
1962	12.10	26.05
1963	16.91	31.50
1964	21.02	34.44
1965	25.36	32.74

Compared with the targets of production laid down for the machine tools also, the performance of the machine tool industry during the Third Five Year Plan period has been quite satisfactory. The target for the production of machine tools by 1965-66 was Rs. 30 crores. Already capacity in excess of this target has been installed in the country. Actual production, however, has been of the order of Rs. 26 crores as indicated earlier. The shortfall has been due to primarily to the slackness of demand during the last year of the Third Five Year Plan. Under normal circumstances, the machine tool industry might have exceeded the Third Plan target.

While the performance of the machine tool industry, from all points of view, has been quite satisfactory, the fact remains that the country even today is importing machine tools in very large numbers. Moreover, the imported machine tools are more sophisticated than those manufactured within the country and are thus priced higher. The cost of the import of these machines in foreign exchange is, therefore, very large. In the years to come, the demand for machine tools is bound o increase. This outlines the task ahead of the machine tool industry in the country.

The Third Plan target for machine tool production was fixed at Rs. 30 crores, not with reference to demand for machine tools, but taking into account the fact that the industry was required to expand on a very limited base and its resources of trained manpower, technical know-how as well as the ancillary facilities required for expansion of the industry were rather limited. At the end of the Third Five Year Plan, the industry has reached what may be called the take-off stage. It may not still be completely self-sufficient in matters like trained manpower and design know-how. Yet, there is a much bigger pool of know-how and-trained personnel now than was available to the industry at the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan. The industry should, therefore, be capable of achieving much higher targets during the Fourth Five Year Plan period. In other words, at the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan, it should be possible to reduce the proportion of imported machine tools very substantially.

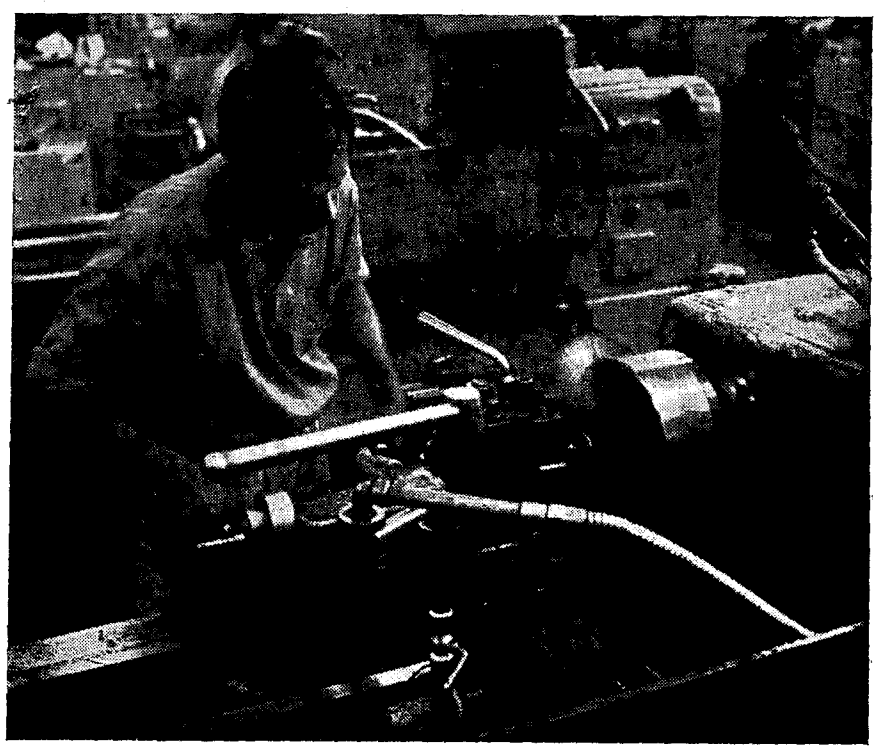
FOURTH PLAN REQUIREMENTS

In order to determine the requirements of the machine tool industry during the Fourth Five Year Plan period, government had set up a Working Group towards the end of 1963. This Working Group, in its report which was submitted to Government early in 1965, had suggested certain targets for the machine tool industry by 1970-71. The total requirements of machine tools during the Fourth Five Year Plan period were estimated at Rs. 449 crores. The Working Group felt that it would not be possible to meet the entire requirements through indigenous production. Some imports would be unavoidable either because of technological reasons such as new techniques being developed in the foreign countries or because the requirements of certain sophisticated machine tools are too small to justify economic production within the country. The imports at the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan, the Working Group estimated, would amount to not more than about 25% of the total requirements. That is to say, 75% of the country's requirements of machine tools are expected to be met through indigenous production by 1970-71. This is against today's figure of 45%.

In terms of absolute figures, the target for production of machine tools by 1970-71 would be Rs. 119 crores per annum against a target of Rs. 30 crores for the Third Five Year Plan — an almost fourfold increase. In order to achieve an annual production target of Rs. 119 crores, capacity will have to be increased to Rs. 131 crores by 1970-71. The machine tool industry, therefore, has a really stupendous task before it. Its past performance, however, does inspire confidence and gives rise to the hope that the industry would be capable of achieving this target. This is specially so in view of the fact that the industry today is much better organised to undertake this programme of expansion than it was at the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan.

In increasing the production of machine tools during the Fourth Five Year Plan, the public sector is expected to play a key role, as has been the case during the Third Five Year Plan. The biggest contribution has to come from the Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. The Bangalore factory has already been duplicated in 1961. New units have also been set up at Pinjore (1963), Kalamassery in Kerala (1964) and Hyderabad (1965). All these units have gone into production. The combined capacity of these units, when they are in full production, will be Rs. 25 crores. This is likely to happen by 1968-69. Meanwhile, the Company has plans for the duplication of all these units with a view to increasing the capacity of each one of them from Rs. 5 crores in the first phase to Rs. 10 crores each after the expansion is completed. Thus, the expansion of Pinjore and Kalamassery units will be undertaken during 1966-67 and that of the Hyderabad unit in 1967-68. Besides the expansion of the existing units, Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. proposes to set up two altogether new units. One of these units will be in Uttar Pradesh. The exact locations of these units will be settled in due course. These new units are expected to be set up towards the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan period. The combined capacity of all the units of Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. will be Rs. 50 crores. The estimate of production by 1970-71 from these units is Rs. 40 crores.

The production in H.M.T.'s Bangalore factory began with centre lathes. In course of time, the production has been diversified and the Company has undertaken the manufacture of a large variety of machine tools such as lathes of various types, milling machines, drilling machines, grinding machines, gear-cutting machines and special purpose machine tools. Along with its programme of expansion of capacity and production through the establishment of new units, the Company has also taken in hand the rationalisation of the pattern of production in its several units. Each unit is expected to specialise in the manufacture of certain types of machine tools. Thus the Bangalore factory will manufacture centre lathes of heavier ranges, radical drills, grinders, turret lathes etc. The Pinjore unit will manufacture milling machines of all types. The Kalamassery unit will concentrate on the manufacture of centre lathes, hexagonal and drum-type turret lathes. The Hyderabad unit will manufacture special purpose machine tools, gear shaping machines, gear hobbing machines and metal forming presses. In course of time, the manufacture of metal forming presses will be shifted to the new unit which is proposed to be



Close up of the H.M.T. designed and developed Turnet Lathe H.M.T. Bangalore.

set up in Madhya Pradesh. This unit will specialise in the manufacture of presses of various types and ranges. The production pattern of the unit to be set up in Uttar Pradesh will be decided in due course.

Besides the Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd., there are certain other units in the public sector manufacturing machine tools. There is the Praga Tools Ltd., at Hyderabad, manufacturing mainly tool and cutter grinders and lathe chucks. During the Fourth Plan period, this unit will also expand. In addition, there is a proto-type machine tool factory at Ambarnath.

The public sector factories mentioned above, manufacture mainly the smaller and medium types of machine tools. For the country's development, we also require heavier types of machine tools which are very expensive. These machine tools are not required in very large numbers. But the foreign exchange expenditure on the import of these machine tools is very large. A plant for the manufacture of such heavier types of machine tools is being set up at Ranchi with collaboration from Czechoslavakia. This factory forms a part of the heavy engineering complex at Ranchi. The factory is nearing completion and is expected to go into production shortly. By 1970-71, this factory is expected to produce machine tools worth Rs. 10 crores per annum.

Two new machine tool units with Czech collaboration are being planned. One of these units, specialising in the manufacture of grinding machines of various types, is proposed to be set up at Ajmer. The other one which will manufacture medium heavy lathes and horizontal boring mills is proposed to be set up at Bhavnagar in the State of Gujarat. According to present expectations, the Ajmer plant is likely to go into production by the beginning of 1968 and the Bhavnagar plant a year later. These plants at full capacity will produce machine tools worth about Rs. 13-14 crores per annum.

The public sector factories, thus, are expected to produce machine tools worth over Rs. 60 crores by 1970-71. This will constitute more than 50% of the country's total production of machine tools by the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan period. The private sector factories in the industry are expected to meet the remaining demand for machine tools. As mentioned before, there are 80 units in the private sector manufacturing graded machine tools. Though their current production is of the order of Rs. 15 crores, they are capable of producing much more. Some of these units had been licensed only recently. They will, therefore, take some time to reach their full targeted capacity. Again, the existing units are likely to expand during the course of time. It has been estimated that the existing units, among themselves, would be capable of manufacturing machine tools worth about Rs. 25 crores per annum by 1970-71.

A number of new units have been recently licensed. Similarly, some of the existing units have been permitted to add new lines of production. With a view to further encouraging the production of machine tools in the private sector, additional capacity, continues to be licensed, though of late, a more selective approach in licensing has had to be adopted.

The machine tools required by the Engineering industries are of a diverse nature. They range from the small and simpler types of machines required for training purposes costing a few thousand rupees, to the very heavy and sophisticated machines required for the heavy machinery manufacturing industries, costing several lakhs of rupees. Hitherto, the development in the country has been mainly in the field of light and medium machine tools. The heavy machine tools have been planned for manufacture in the Heavy Machine Tool Plant at Ranchi. Some of the machine tools falling in the intermediate range are to be manufactured at Ajmer and Bhavnager. In this field, however, there will still be some gaps for which additional capacity has to be created. Again, from the qualitative point of view, the machine tools manufactured in the country are, by and large, what is called general purpose machine tools. The more sophisticated machine tools are not yet manufactured in any sizable quantity. These machine tools which are expensive are imported, involving heavy foreign exchange. In the years to come, the machine tool industry has to undertake the manufacture of more sophisticated and specialised types of machine tools with a view to making the country self-sufficient in such machine tools.

PROBLEMS

The machine tool industry in India, like several other machine building industries, has been faced with various problems. Some of

these have already been mentioned, e. g. the lack of technical manpower and know-how. These problems, of course, have been overcome to a considerable extent. Yet keeping in view the order of expansion envisaged during the Fourth Five Year Plan period, the industry will have to put in a considerable effort in meeting its further requirements. Another problem faced by the industry is the lack of adequate capital, both investment capital and loan capital. The machine tool industry is one with a comparatively long gestation period. A new machine tool factory starts paying its way only in 5-7 years. Return on capital, therefore, is rather slow. Consequently, the industry does not attract investment capital. The industry also does not enjoy the rediscounting facilities which have been granted by the Industrial Development Bank to some of the other machinery manufacturing industries. This is probably because of the reason that the value of a single machine tool is not sufficiently large, as, for example, is the case with a cement plant or a sugar plant. The financial institutions are, therefore, not very keen to undertake a large number of transactions involving comparatively smaller values. Yet, it has been felt that suitable rediscounting facilities are necessary for the further development of the machine tool industry. The need for such facilities becomes all the more important when the programmes of expansion of the machine tool industry during the Fourth Five Year Plan period are kept in view.

Yet another difficulty which is common to all manufacturing industries in the country is the inadequate availability of foreign exchange. In this respect, however, the machine tool industry has been slightly more fortunate inasmuch as during the last 2 years it has been receiving assistance under the I. D. A. Credit. The requirements of all the units in the industry are, however, not met through this credit. There are, therefore, sectors of machine tool industry which still continue to face shortage of foreign exchange. The shortage of indigenous raw materials like pig iron had, for some time, been standing in the way of increasing production of machine tools. But unfortunately of late, the supply position of pig iron has been comparatively easier. The industry, however, continues to be faced with the problem of quality of pig iron. There is a shortage of foundry grade pig iron which is specially suited for castings required by the machine tool industry. It is hoped that in course of time this difficulty will also be overcome.

EXPORTS

The shortage of foreign exchange which is so vitally required for import of components and raw materials has brought home the necessity of undertaking exports. It may look rather paradoxical that we are thinking of exports while we are still importing machine tools worth several crores of rupees. Market investigations abroad, however, have shown that there is scope for the export of general purpose machine tools manufactured in India, particullarly to countries like U.S.A. and Western Europe where labour costs are very high. In fact, Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. have already undertaken market surveys in several countries. They have also received and executed export orders. At present, they have export orders worth Rs. 32 lakhs in hand. The Company hopes to export machine tools worth about a crore of rupees during 1966. By the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan, it hopes to build up an export business of about Rs. 5 crores per annum.

Similar efforts on the part of other machine tool manufacturers in the country are called for. It is hoped that they will also do their utmost in exporting their products to foreign countries. The export of machine tools will enable the fuller utilisation of the available indigenous capacity in two ways. Firstly, more machine tools will be produced for export and secondly through the export earnings it would be possible to finance the import of components and raw materials required for stepping up the machine tool production.

The shortage of foreign exchange has also led to serious thinking regarding the indigenous content of machine tools manufactured in the country. From the very beginning, the import content is kept down to the minimum possible. The machine tool manufacturers seeking Government approval for the manufacture of new machines are required to make full use of indigenously available materials and manufacturing facilities for the supply of components required for their use.

As has been mentioned earlier, indigenous know-how has become available for the comparatively simpler types of machine tools. For these machine tools, it is no longer necessary

for the country to look forward to outside technical assistance. New collaborations for such machine tools are, therefore, not allowed. The country, however, continues to be dependent on foreign know-how for the manufacture of more complicated or sophisticated types of machine tools. Indigenous manufacturers, are being encouraged to set up their own facilities for the development of designs in the country with a view to reducing dependence on foreign know-how. In this field, again, Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. has done some pioneering work. They have not only completed their expansion programmes with the help of Indian technicians and have likewise planned to undertake their future expansions with Indian technical skill, they have also undertaken the development of a number of new designs for machine tools. It is hoped that the other units in the industry will also emulate the example of Hindustan Machine Tools.

BANGALORE INSTITUTE

Government have set up at Bangalore an Institute for the development of research and design facilities. This Institute, The Central Machine Tool Institute, has been established with the assistance of the Government of Czechoslavakia. The Institute has plans to undertake work for development of machine tool designs, testing of machine tools, research on raw materials and arrangements for training of Indian technicians. It is hoped that in the years to come, it will be able to play a useful role in furthering the development of the Indian machine tool industry.

(Contd. from page 31)

These divergences apart, there is so much of common ground between the Congress and the Sarvodaya movement. First of all there is the memory of the Father of Nation. Then there is the earnest desire to bring about social changes through peaceful means. There is also a desire to secure the improvement in the living conditions of the masses. Every Congressman should therefore study this aspect with an open mind and lend the movement his support to the extent he can.

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(Contd. from page 27)

America's railways, in large measure, were financed by British capital. The French helped us to build our chemical industry. Thousands of foreign-born engineers, scientists, and technicians helped lay the basis for America's sweeping modern new industry. Today foreign investment in America totals close to $ 10 billion.

Western Europe was largely built after the war by American capital. And so was Japan. During the last war we gave or loaned almost $ 12 billion to the USSR; after the war we sent Russia another $ 250 million for food and relief.

There is no evidence that this flow of foreign capital and technicians has subverted the United States, or Europe, or Japan. There need be no fear that it will subvert free India.

BASIC TIES

We should never underestimate the strong ties which unite our two peoples, citizens of the largest democracies in the world.

In the last 15 years thousands of Americans have come to India to teach at your universities, to help build your dams, to work in your hospitals, and to assist in your rural development. These include some 700 U. S. Peace Corps volunteers, most of whom right now are working side-by-side with Indian cultivators, in the rural areas raising poultry, teaching school, and working in health clinics.

Almost all of these thousands of Americans return to the U.S. with a deep feeling of respect and friendship for the Indian people.

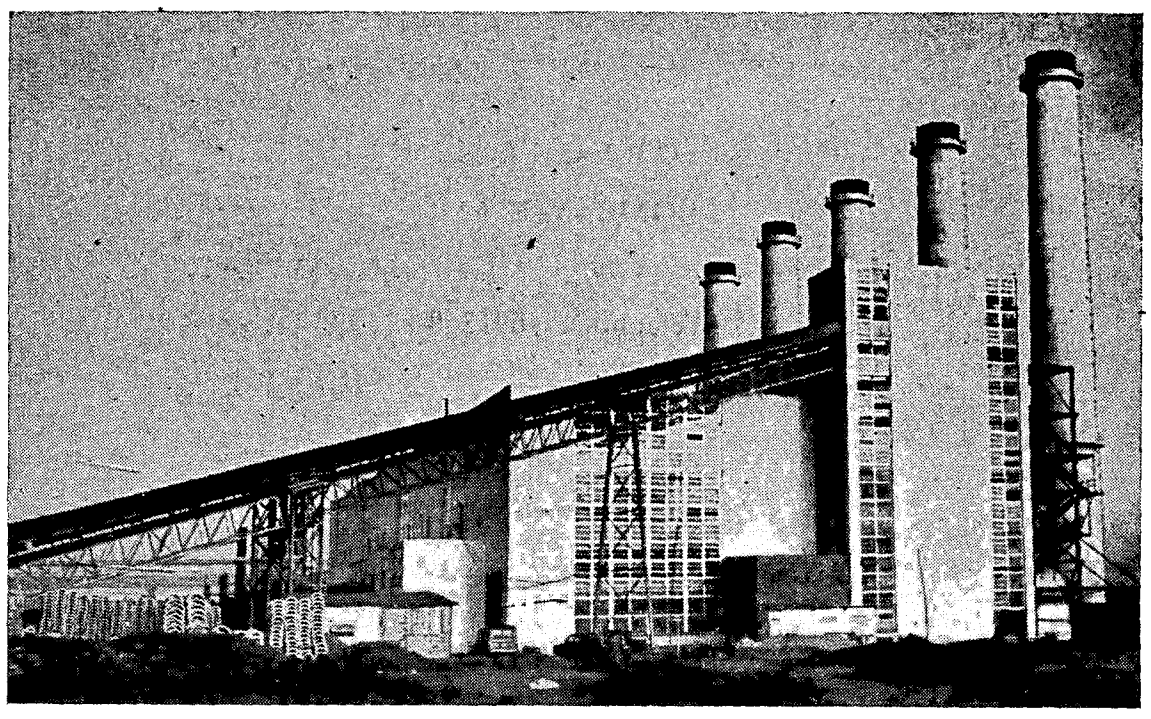
During the same period more than 55,000 Indian citizens have travelled to the United States for technical training or education. At this moment there are some 8,000 Indian students in American universities—far more than the number who are studying in any other foreign country. Morever, more than 1,000 Indian professors are now teaching our universities.

Although there will always be some differences between India and America, the goals we have in common are vastly more important.

We deeply believe that a free prosperous, and peaceful India is a primary requirement for a stable and free Asia and that a democratic India will constitute a long step forward toward a democratic and free world society. We also believe that the basic good will and mutual interest exist to achieve this objective.

That is why we Americans have been helping India over the last 15 years; that is why we expect to continue our assistance.

As we seek common ground, let us never forget that America and India are working for precisely the same objective. The right to live in a free society, the right of each individual to a full measure of dignity and economic justice and the opportunity for all people to live in a peaceful world.



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A Short Story

THY NAME IS BURDEN!

N. S. PHADKE

It was half past ten on a November morning. The sun shone brightly in a spotless blue sky. Suburban trains arrived every five minutes, as usual at the Churchgate station, and disgorged loads of humanity flowed through the wide street leading to the offices and firms and shops round about the Flora Fountain, did not, however, today take the usual course. Instead, they surged through the opposite Nariman Road leading to the Brabourne Stadium and further down to the sea face. Men and women of all ages and descriptions thronged into this wide road, pushing, rushing, hurrying, halting, crying and yelling. All of them seemed to be in a tremendous hurry, impatient and eager. The second Test Match between India and a visiting team was being played at the Braboune Stadium and people of all kinds and classes, moved by a strange frenzy, were seen running towards the gates of the Stadium. It was indeed a mad crowd.

Kashinath stood on the pavement in front of a big restaurant, watching the streams of humanity rushing past him. He looked like a tramp, his body barely covered by dirty clothes, his eyes haggered and red, his face unclean and unshaven, his hair unwashed and uncombed. Standing on the pavement at the corner of the road, he watched the strange traffic of humanity all around him Well-dressed men came out of retaurant and started running towards the Stadium Crowds rushing like flood water from the arches of the Churchgate station passed across his gaze like eddies and currents. Vendors of wafers and bananas and betel-leaf and cigarettes sent up shrill voices. People asked one another about the latest score. The whole scene was full of hectic hurry and noise.

Like the men and women marching past Kashinath, memories of the past rushed across his mind as he stood in his place under the huge signboard of the restaurant 'Asiatic'. He had been a first class cricketer in his high school days. He had captained his team and led it to victory and won the championship shield. Time and again he had played a veritable captain's innings, and people had predicted that young Kashinath would become famous as a cricketer. He too had harboured the great ambition of playing for India one day on the C.C.I. wicket. But this dream of his had remained unfulfilled. Life had shown him little kindness. He had suddenly lost his father, and he had been obliged to leave his school and make a living by following his family profession of carpentry... These memories made him sad and bitter. He wanted to shout at the crowd, 'You fools, I know cricket much more than any of you! I love the game more than any of you! I too wish to buy a ticket and get into the ground and see this Test! I am dying to do so. But ... but ...' He dug both his hands in the pockets of his dirty coat. There was a tattered rag of a handkerchief in one of the pockets, and in the other were a few cheap country Bidis and an almost empty match box. The Cheapest seat in the Stadium stands cost two rupees!

Today's Test was bound to be most exciting. India's most popular batsman Bihari was in wonderful form. He was expected to score a century as he had done in the first Delhi Test. This was indeed going to be a great struggle worth going hundreds of miles to watch. Tens of thousands of people were rushing like mad men towards the grounds. But did these idiots know how to hold a bat—these fat-bellied men, chewing betel-leaf? Worms—who knew nothing of cricket! Kashinath felt a surge of bitterness filling his heart. He was a cricketer. He loved the game. But he was jobless! He had not a penny in his pocket. He could not purchase a ticket unless he pinched somebody's pocket. Unless he turned a thief.

Kashinath gave a little start at the thought. Thief! He had never committed theft. While hunting for a job and starving, he had often thought of turning a thief. Why not commit a theft and go to jail, he had asked himself. They would give him food and clothes. But that idea had not appealed to his educated and cultured mind. He had never committed theft. The thought of pinching somebody's pocket, therefore, shocked him...But only for a moment. He asked himself, why not? Why

shouldn't I steal? All around him there were shouts: 'How many runs?' 'How many wickets;' and 'How many tickets?'....Kashinath's mind shouted, 'Why shouldn't I steal?' 'Why not?'... He began to watch the people stampeding past him with a different eye. He began to calculate whose pocket was assailable with the greatest safety to himself. His heart pounded with the thought of doing a thing which he had never done. But his eyes sparkled with the intention to steal. Kashinath was about to faint under the tension of his inward struggle.

A group of half a dozen girls were coming towards him, laughing and tittering like sparrows. They came closer. He smelt the fragrance of their handkerchieves. He heard their sweet voices. They went past him. Kashinath saw one of the girls swinging a purse. He looked hard at the purse. It assumed so large a size in his eyes that there was nothing else left for his eyes to see, and he thought that with each swing the purse asked 'Why not?' 'Why not?' Kashinath's eyes bulged... The next instant he jumped forward. His hands grabbed. He captured the white purse. And then he bolted. 'Help! Help! Thief!'—He heard the girl's cries from a distance. But he ran like a mad man—like a man who had lost his senses.

Kashinath heard yells and shouts all around him when he came to his senses. But how different were these! And how different a man was he!—different from the unkempt, unshaven, jobless tramp that had stood on the pavement before the restaurant! He was no longer a dirty and starved man, with a bitter and a cruel face.

He had bolted with the stolen purse for half a mile, and then rushed into restaurant. He had hurried to a table in a corner and opened the purse. There were four five-rupee notes and a few coins. He had put them in his pocket. Also the powder box and the lipstick which the girl had carried. He had found a letter in the purse. He had read it hurriedly.

"My dear shanta,

I have received the thirty rupees which you kindly sent. I am ashamed at the thought that you must have sent this money with great inconvenience to yourself. I am ashamed when I think of your labour and your sacrifice. I am indeed a totally worthless father. It hurts me deeply to have asked for your help knowing well that you yourself need all the money that you earn. But was I not helpless? It was imperative to put your mother in the hospital. I had not a farthing. Your help has indeed come like a Godsend. You have saved your mother. She will now get well..."

Kashinath had held that short letter in his hand for a while. His eyes had become dim with tears. He had imagined that the girl whose purse he had stolen was after all a flippant, irresponsible, pleasure-loving, gay, young student in some college. But how mistaken had he been. She was a good and a kind girl, wanting to help her father—loving her mother! Industrious, honest, loving! As he wiped his eyes, he had wished to run back and find out the girl and to return the purse...But a waiter was standing before him and asking him what he wanted. That changed the direction of his thoughts. He ordered a good meal. After leaving the hotel he had gone into a haircutting saloon, and had a good shave, and a shampoo and a wash.

Now he had no need of purchasing a cheap seat. He flung a five rupee note and bought a first class ticket. He had entered the stands and settled in a comfortable seat... How different were the yells and shouts which he now heard!

He looked at the two huge score-boards in the corners of the eastern boundary, at the players in spotless white pants and shirts, and at the two umpires in their white gowns. He couldn't decide if Bihari was still to come and bat. He was about to ask his neighbour about it when he heard a girl shouting at another "Shanta! Shanta! Do you know that..." He was startled. Shanta! Did it mean that the girl whose purse he had rifled was seated near him? He looked stealthily at the girl sitting to his left. He could easily identify the dark girl. He had stolen her money! And he was now sitting next to her! Her money was in his pocket! Her powder box, her lipstick and so also the moving letter which her loving father had written to her! What were the thoughts running at this moment through the poor girl's mind? Did she think of her mother? Did she want to send more money to her father? Did she need the money for herself? Kashinath thought—"But no" he said to himself! He

mustn't think of anything. Goodbye to all kind and good thoughts! Goodbye to honesty! Life was such that you must be hard-hearted and cruel, unless you were prepared to perish! He flung aside the weakness that was about to envelope him. Like a hardened criminal he looked straight into Shanta's eyes and asked "Excuse me, but is Bihari still to come?"

The girl laughed. "Of course" she said. "Bihari is still to come. He will bat after this wicket. Don't you see him siting there, with pads on his legs, and a bat and gloves in his hand ready to enter as soon as this wicket is down? Look! There he is".

"There? Where?"

"There...under the C.C.I. balcony, across the white line of the boundary. Don't you see the wicker chairs in the shade? Just there..." she raised her hand, and in doing so she touched Kashinath's shoulder. She looked steadily into his eyes. Her sweet child-like smile touched his heart. A quiver of shame rushed through all his limbs.

"O, there" he mumbled nervously. "I'm sorry, but I can't see well. I am slightly short-sighted."

"Are you? Wait, I'll give you a binocular. Lata! Lata! Will you give me your binocular please?" She took the field glasses from her friend and turned to Kashinath. "Here you are."

"Thank you very much" Kashinath said. 'I deserve to be shot down', he told himself. He put the field glosses on, but he had no wish to adjust the focus. Instead of looking through the binocular, he was lost in his own bitter thoughts. 'Why doesn't somebody shoot me down? Why don't I die...'

During the days when he had gone through the agonies of unemployment and penury, he had often thought of ending his own life. He had often wanted to fling away from his shoulders the burden of life—the unbearable painful burden of living!...The binocular was on his eyes. But he did not see anything. He was deciding to himself that he would rest completely after returning from this match. Enough of this struggle. What sense was there in carrying this burden of life, struggling to keep himself alive, starving, running from place to place, trying to be good, trying not to tarnish the good name of his father? This strange tyrany of life! This queer burden of life! He had carried this burden on his head for quite a long time! Enough of this joke!... After returning from this match he would end...

"Can you see Bihari?" The girl touched him, as she put the question, with great concern.

Kashinath came out of his own thoughts. "Yes! Yes! I can see Bihari now." He told the girl as he adjusted the focus. "What a fine field glass this is! I can see Bihari almost as if he was sitting in front of me here." He kept looking. Yes, there he was Bihari, the darling of the crowds. Two or three young girls, wearing bright-coloured 'sarees' were bending before Bihari and asking for his autograph. Bihari was making some joke, and grinning. Kashinath kept looking at that charming picture of the great cricketer.

The girls skipped off like gazels after they had secured Bihari's autograph. Bihari was left to himself. His bat rested in between his knees. His batting gloves were put around the handle of the bat. He was waiting for his turn. As soon as this wicket fell, he would get up, and pick up his bat and gloves, and walk with slow steps towards the wicket. Fifty thousand people would send up loud cheers of applause as soon as they saw him. "Buck up, Bihari!" "Come on Bihari!" The air would be filled with shouts like these.

And it was exactly this of which Bihari himself had got tired. He was inwardly groaning under this strange burden of popularity and responsibility! He wanted to look hard at the play going on in the middle, since his turn was due. He must study the swing and direction of the ball. He must decide how to face the bowling. He must watch each ball very carefully. But his heart rebelled against this strain. How he wished to close his eyes, and stretch his limbs and go to sleep! He was tired! He had no strength left to walk the road to fame! He wished that this road would some day come to an end. "When did I take to this road", he asked himself.

"When? Why? How?"

He remembered things—some clearly, some dimly, He had never been fond of books in his high school days. But the Prince of a State, wanting to strengthen his team, had picked him up when he was just a lad, and made him play big cricket. He soon came to be recognized as

a rising star on the horizon of Indian cricket. Fate had decided the mission of his life. Cricketer! Cricket! He had gone to England and Australia, broken several records, and now he was considered the backbone of India's team. Match after match, he had to carry his side on his shoulders. He had to remember that his side would score only if he played well, and would collapse miserably if he lost his wicket cheaply. His popularity had gone on increasing. And with popularity his responsibility too. He had carried this double burden on his shoulders endlessly. This tyranny of retaining his own fame and bringing more and more glory to India! He had to play first class cricket almost all the year round. When the Indian season was over, he went to England to play the Lancashire League Matches. When the English season was over, he returned to India and played the Tests. India! Lancashire! India again! Struggle for runs! Struggle for Wickets! Struggle for averages! Unending struggle! He had never had an occasion to play freely and to enjoy himself! He didn't even have time to be ill and to lie in bed... He must live up to his name! He must carry the burden on his shoulders without respite, without complaint.

How often he wished to rest! To be ill, if that alone gave him an occasion to lie in his bed, and to watch his two young children at play, and to hold his wife's hand, and to talk to her of humdrum domestic trifles!....His married life and with Sudha had begun just when his career as a fine cricketer had started. His life as a husband had synchronized with his life as responsible and famous player. He loved Sudha. He had spotted her on the occasion of a friend's marriage. He had liked her immensely. He had wooed her, and married her. Even today she was just the young girl who had fascinated him. Fair, delicate — a charming little doll! Not very talkative, but with drops of honey on her tongue!

Dozens of bats stood in a corner of the bedroom in his house. "How jealous I feel about those bats! "his wife Sudha would often say, pointing at them.

Bihari would snap his finger on her cheek. "Jealous? Those poor bats! Why should you feel jealous of them?

"Why should I not?" Sudha would argue, "You belong to them, and not to me. All your time is given to them. You share all your life with them! They fill your thoughts. They fill your waking hours! Do you ever have a quiet moment with me?"

Bihari would feel like a guilty man. But he would grim. "Sudha darling," he would caress her head, "there would come a day when I shall throw aside all those bats, and I shall be entirely your own.

There was a deafening applause...Bihari emerged from his thought. Wicket? He gave a start and moved in this chair, and looked hard ...No! Nobody was out. The crowds had cheered and clapped because one of the two batsmen had just missed being run-out.

He gave a sigh of relief and settled into his chair again. Thank God, there was no need for him to get up and walk into the field...He really wanted to do what he used to tell his wife. He wanted to have done with cricket. He wanted to throw the bats away. He wanted to lead a quiet peaceful happy life—away from the madding crowd! He would grow vegetables and flowers. He would have a few cows and bullocks, and also hens. He would dig a beautiful well, draw water from it, swim in it to his heart's content, get ill with cold, and enjoy the luxury of lying in bed. All this was going to happen some day....His shoulders ached with the burden of fame and responsibility. His head was splitting with the strain of concentration. He would make his last appearance in some big Test like this, and then he would say 'Goodbye cricket!

Kashinath was still looking through the field glasses. One person tired of the burden of life, was looking at another equally tired of the pattern of life which he was required to lead. Only that other person was not aware that he was being watched by a man very much like himself. Bihari thought that he alone was groaning under the tyrany and load of life. Every man thinks so. While the truth is that all men, in their own ways, and in their own measure, are wearied of life.

There was a roar of applause. A wicket had fallen.

The batsman who was out was returning towards the pavilion. Bihari shook off his thoughts. He got up from the chair, took up his bat and gloves and stepped into the field. He heard a dinning applause. He heard his own name rising from thousands of throats. He reached the wicket and started to play. Breath-

less silence descended on the scene. He made his first boundary stroke. The whole ground rang with cheers. "Four runs" Bihari told himself. He needed ninety-six runs more. He must score a century. He must. There was no escape. He must hit up a century. Like an ox under the yoke he put himself to the heavy task. The scoreboard rattled. Bihari's score rose steadily but surely. Twenty. Thirty. Forty... Inwardly, however, Bihari was asking himself how far away was the day when he could afford to forget all about runs, the day when he would throw off this strange burden? He was tired! His heart was sick and faint!... And yet he was hitting the ball hard to this side and that. He was piling runs on runs.

At last he reached the coveted three figures, and was still not out. Mad joyful yells filled the stadium. Swarms of people rushed towards the wicket from all directions. They made a ring round Bihari. He wanted to get away from this milling crowd—away from their hoarse shouts. He wished to rest. He wished to run to his home town, and to lie in the lap of his wife and to tell her that at last he had done with cricket. But he was caught in a veritable whirlpool of admirers. They patted him, garlanded him, grabbed his hand and shook it. But he wanted to be left alone.

A man came near Bihari and put a couple of notes and a few coins in his hand. "I'm a poor jobless fellow" he said with a grin. "But I'm one of your admirers. Once I had captained my school team. You played from another school. You have become a great hero. I have remained a small insignificant man. Almost a worm. I have nothing precious to give you as a token of my appreciation. I have given you all that I have had." He faltered a little and then added "Even this money which I have given you is not mine. But I can give it to you. Take it please. Don't say no..." He closed Bihari's fingers round the notes and coins, gave a last grin, and, turning, disappeared into the crowd!

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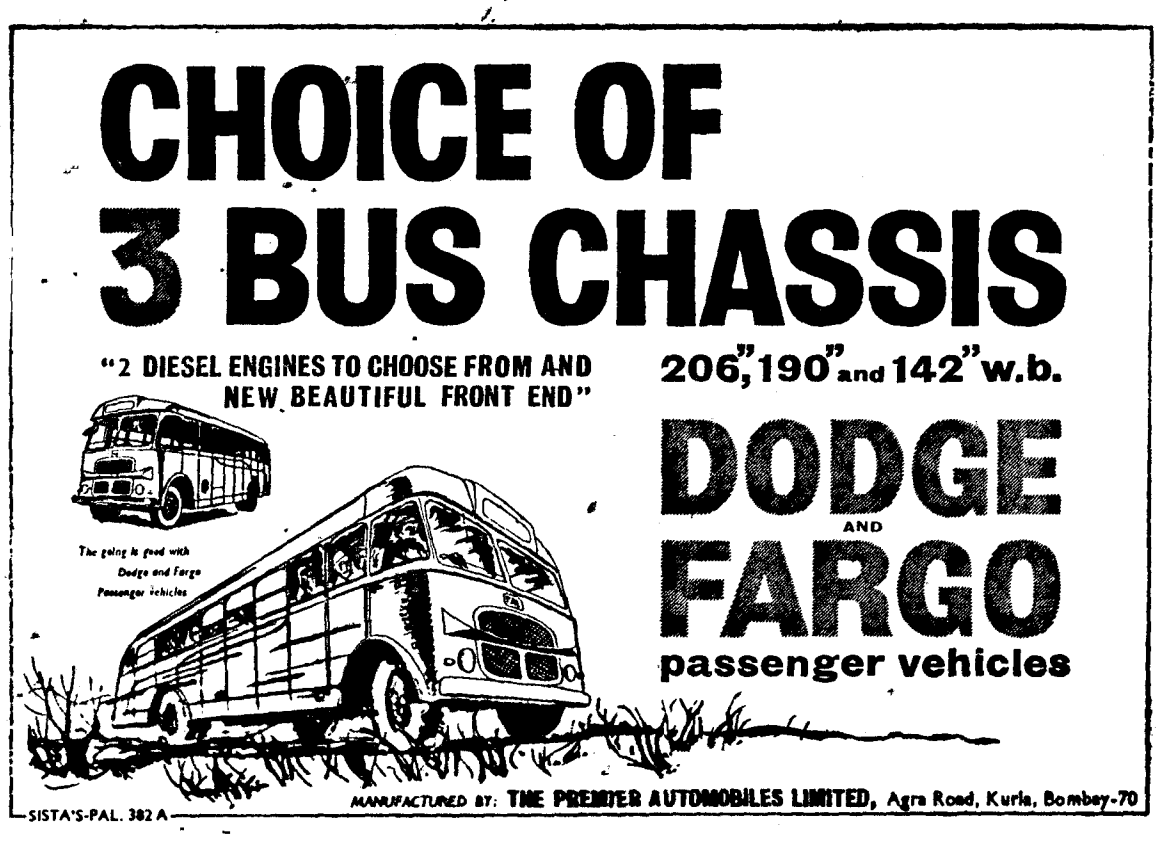
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THE FIRST CELEBRATION OF THE GREAT REVOLT OF 1857

■ PADMAN

Nine years ago, India celebrated the centenary of the Great Revolt of 1857; and the nation recalled with gratitude the intrepid leaders who had fought in the first war of independence. Till the Transfer of Power, the Revolt could not be viewed in its proper perspective; and British historians had dismissed it with disdain as a Sepoy Mutiny.

The first attempt to celebrate the anniversary of the Revolt and present it as a national uprising was made, surprisingly enough, in London fiftyeight years ago. It was done by a group of Indian revolutionaries belonging to the Abhinav Bharat Sangh, headed by V. D. Savarkar and V. V. S. Aiyar, staying at the India House at Cromwell Avenue in Highgate.

India was seething with discontent at the time, consequent on the partition of Bengal; and young men, tired of the policy of mendicancy followed by the Congress had taken to the cult of terrorism. The India House in London was considered to be the headquarters of the revolutionaries; and the Rowlatt Report was later to assert that large scale smuggling of arms into India was done by Savarkar and his confreres.

Repression was in full swing after the Surat imbroglio of 1907; and Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chakravarti had hurled the detonating bomb at Muzaffarpur which led to the Alipore Conspiracy case in which Sri Aurobindo was the prinicipal accused. It was at this time that the Savarkar group decided to celebrate the fifty-first anniversary of the Great Revolt with full pomp and ceremony. Savarkar had already written in Marathi his monumental volume entitled **the Indian War of Independence.**

Early in May 1908 every Indian in England received an invitation printed in red ink, which ran as follows: "To commemorate the anniversary of the Indian National Rising of 1857, a meeting of Indians in England will be held at the India House, 65 Cromwell Avenue, Highgate, N. on Sunday the 10th May 1908 at 4 p.m. precisely. You and all your Indian friends are cordially invited to be present."

The **London Times** reported later: "A red link circular was distributed to many Indian students in this country at the beginning of the month inviting them to a meeting held at the hostel on the fifty-first anniversary of the Mutiny by the Revolt of the Sepoy Regiment at Meerut, an anniversary falling this year on the same day of the week, a Sunday. The gathering was secret, Europeans being carefully excluded and Indians present are reticent as to what took place."

Over a hundred Indian students from all over England attended the meeting. The proceedings began with the singing of the Bande mataram song. Tributes were paid to the sacred memory of Emperor Bahadur Shah, Shrimant Nana Saheb, Maharani Lakshmibai of Jhansi and other martyrs. Stirring speeches were delivered on the imperative necessity of making all sacrifices for the freedom of the motherland. The function ended with the distribution of prasad.

Though the press was excluded from the function the **Times** wrote: "The chair was occupied by a young man from Western India of good connections, who alleges that he is the rightful heir to a chieftainship for which the government has chosen another claimant. The meeting lasted for hours; and much stress was laid upon the poverty alleged to be inflicted on India by alien rule."

OH MARTYRS

This meeting would not have attracted so much attention but for a leaflet distributed to the audience and later sent out to India in large numbers. It was entitled **"Oh Martyrs,"** and printed in French type. The Rowlatt Report avowed later that "some of the copies sent to a college in Madras were wrapped in a part of the London **Daily News** indicating that they had been distributed from London."

SEVIKA

The leaflet began with the inspiring quotation :

"Freedom's battle once begun
And handed down from bleeding sire to son
Though oft baffled is ever won."

The authorship of the leaflet was attributed to Shayamji Krishnavarma (who disclaimed it indignantly)., Savarkar and V. V. S. Aiyar. Whoever wrote it, there is no doubt that it was trenchant prose. The following are excerpts from the pamphlet which has been swallowed in the oblivion of time :

"Today is the 10th of May! It was on this day that in the ever memorable year 1857, the first campaign of the War of Independence was opened by you, oh Martyrs, on the battlefields of India. The motherland, awakened to the sense of her degrading slavery; unsheathed her sword, burst forth the shackles and struck the first blow for her liberty and for her honour.

"It was on this day that the Sepoys of Meerut, having risen in a terrible uprising, marched down to Delhi, saw the waters of the Jumna glittering in the sunshine, caught one of those historical moments which close a past epoch to introduce a new one and had found in a moment a leader, a flag and a cause and converted the Mutiny into, a national and religious war" (Justin McCarthy: History of our Times).

PRESERVATION OF HONOUR

"All honour to you, oh Matyrs! For it was for the preservation of the honour of the race that you performed the fiery ordeal of a revolution — when the hypocrite stood up as a perfidious foe breaking treaties, smashing crowns, forging chains and mocking all the while our merciful mother. Well did you do in rising! For otherwise although your blood might have been spared, yet the stigma of servility would have been the deeper. And the world would have again contemptuously pointed to our nation saying : 'She deserves slavery, she is happy in slavery. For even in 1857 she did not raise even a finger to protect her interests and her honour.'

"We take up your cry, we revere your flag, we are determined to continue that fiery mission of 'Away with the foreigner,. For the War of 1857 shall not cease till the revolution comes, striking slavery into dust, elevating liberty to the throne. Whenever a people rises for freedom, whenever that seed of liberty gets germinated in the blood of its martyrs and whenever there remains at least one true son to avenge the blood of his fathers, there never can be an end to such a war as this. No, a revolutionary war knows no truce save liberty or death!

"We inspired by your memory, determine to continue the struggle you began in 1857, we refuse to acknowledge the armistice as a truce, we look upon the battles you fought as the battles of the first campaign, the defeat of which cannot be the defeat of the war. What? Shall the world say that India has accepted the defeat as the final one? That the blood of 1857 was shed in vain? That the sons of India betray their fathers' vows? No, by Hindustan, no !

"The historical continuity of the Indian nation is not cut off. The war began on the 10th of May 1857 is not over on the 10th May 1908 nor shall it ever cease till a 10th of May to come sees the destiny accomplished, sees the beautiful India crowned either with the lustre of victory or with the helo of Martyrdom.

GRAND UNITY

"But oh glorious Martyrs, in this pious struggle of your sons, help! Oh help us by your inspiring presence! Torn into innumerable petty selves, we cannot realise the grand unity of the Mother. Whisper unto us by what magic you caught the secret of union. How the Feringhee rule was shattered to pieces and Swadeshi thrones were set up by the common consent of Hindus and Mohammedans. How you staggered the whole world by uniting under the banner of the Mother and forced your enemies to say: 'Among the many lessons the Indian Mutiny conveys to the historian and the administrator, none is of greater importance than the warning that it is possible to have a revolution in which Brahmans and Sudras, Mohammedans and Hindus were united against us"

"Whisper unto us the nobility of such an alliance of religion and patriotism And give us the marvellous energy, daring and secrecy with which you organised the mighty volcano. Tell us how the chapati, that fiery cross of India, flew from village to village and from valley to valley, setting the whole intellect of the nation on fire by the very vagueness of its message; and then let us hear the roaring thunder with which the volcano at last burst forth with an all-shattering force, rushing, smashing, burning and consuming into one continuous fiery flow of red-hot lava flood.

(50)

"And than oh Martyrs, tell us the little as well as the great defects that you found out in our people in that great experiment of yours. Say that the only cause of the defeat of Hindustan was Hindustan herself; that shaking away the slumber of centuries, the Mother rose to hit the foe but while her right hand was striking the Feringhee dead, her left hand struck, alas not the enemy but her own forehead. So she staggered and fell back into an inevitable swoon of fifty years.

"Fifty years are past. But oh restless spirits of 1857, we promise you with our hearts' blood that your Diamond jubilee shall not pass without seeing your wishes fulfilled. We have heared your voice and we gather courage from it. The Duab and Ayoudhya, making a united stand, had well nigh snatched away the crown of Hindustan and smashed the hollow existence of English rule. What the Duab and Ayodhya could do in a month, the simultaneous, sudden and determined fight of the whole of Hindustan can de in a day. This hope ilumines our heart and assures us of success And so we vow that your Diamond Jubilee year 1917 shall not pass without the resurging India making her triumphal entry into the world. Your blood, oh Martyrs, shall be avenged."

The revolutionaries of India House dreamt of wresting freedom by 1917 but thirty years more had to pass before India became free. But it is significant coincidence that the Mounbatten Plan for the Transfer of Power was finished and taken to London by the Viceroy in May 1947.

(Contd. from page 39)

who lost an empire eating **Shrikhand** !

Gokhale found that Srinivasa Sastri disliked tea, particularly the Poona variety with some cardamom and lots of sugar. Unable to arrange coffee for him, Gokhale directed that he should be taken to the Poona railway station daily for a cup of **coffee!**

Gokhale had a prejudice against Tamil which he thought consisted only of consonant, chiefly guttural. He used to ask Sastri and an Aiyangar to talk in Tamil for the amusement of himself and all the establishment. Gokhale showed off his knowledge of Tamil by calling sar as saram! He tried to get Sastri's Tamil food cooked by Maharashtrians but Sastri soon returned to **chapati** and **ambti**, the Poona bread and soup. Gokhale did not like the way South Indians were known by their proper names and not by their surnames.

In his sketch of Gokhale published in 1905, Sastri had said that the public criticism of Gokhale in the Apology incident was more in the wrong than the unfortunate victim of it. "More in the wrong" would mean that the victim was also in the wrong though not to the same extent as public opinion. Gokhale was deeply hurt by Sastri's words and said that it behaved a critic of other men's conduct to hold their honour as his own; and if he made charges publicly and found himself unable to substantiate them, the only proper course was to own up manfully. This was the same attitude of Gandhiji who never hesitated to confess to Himalayan blunders.

In his obituary notice on Gokhale, Lokmanya Tilak quoted a verse from the Mahabharata: "Better burn out in a shortlived blaze than be smouldering for ever so long".

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THE LARGEST CHAIN FOOTWEAR STORE ORGANIZATION IN CITY

HIGH COST OF "BANDHS" OR A SINISTER PATTERN

—DHANISHTA

In the vast entity that is India, a demonstration, a hartal, a clash, even a riot mean nothing. They are the normal routine of any live nation. They bespeak the vigour that pulsates in our land and attest to the vitality implicit in progress. They are the ripples that interpret the calm of waters.

But there are times in the history of a nation when simple events and random words, mere moods and momentary impulses display themselves not as stray birds but as symbols of a brood, fingerposts of a frame of mind, representative fragments of a pent pattern investing them with sordid suggestiveness and sinister significance.

Bandh has become a raging epidemic. From Kerala **Bandh** to Bengal **Bandh,** from Delhi **Bandh** to Bangalore **Bandh,** it was an orgy of arson and looting. In West Bengal, buses were burnt, trains were immobilised, railway stations were set on fire and public property destroyed on a large scale.

It might be argued that political parties cannot be held responsible for the misdeeds of anti-social elements. But leaders should have a sense of responsibility and not passions and prejudices which might boil over into violent cruptions.

It is pertinent to recall what Gandhiji did in 1922, The stage had been set for mass disobedience in Bardoli Taluk and the Mahatma had already informed the Viceroy, Lord Reading, about his intention to put into effect the final item in the Non-Cooperation programme.

Then occurred the tragedy of Chauri Chaura where a few police constables were burnt alive by an infuriated mob. Gandhiji did not hesitate for a moment but suspended the civil disobedience campaign forthwith. We have it on record that leaders like Deshabandhu Chittaranjan and Pandit Motilal Nehru were furious with Gandhiji for this retreat. Deshabandhu is said to have asked with some asperity why the whole of India should be penalised for the lapse of Chauri Chaura. At the next meeting of the AICC, a no-confidence motion against Gandhiji was moved by Dr. B.S. Moonje. Undeterred by these reactions, Gandhiji maintained that civil disobedience was impossible so long as violence was in the air.

A great deal has been written about police excesses and much passion has been generated. None would extenuate the excessive use of force by the police. It must be remembered, however, that our police have not completely their imperialist training and acclimatised themselves to a democratic setup.

When a determined group takes to direct action, the police have an unpleasant duty to perform and none expects them to behave like non-violent Satyagrahis. When stones and soda bottles are hurled at them and public property is being destroyed, it would be well nigh difficult for the police to exercise the restraint which devolves on them.

West Bengal is supposed to be a stronghold of the Communists and leaders like Jyoti Basu have their eye on the coming elections. Food problem, it is common sense, cannot be solved by creating fresh problem for the Government. When the Leftists demand that the policies of the Government should be changed, what exactly do they mean ? Is total rationing to be introduced ? Should the trade be nationalised ? Rationing cannot be introduced throughout the State unless the Government has enough stocks of foodgrains. Any attempt to take over the food trade without adequate machinery will only complicate matters. It is not that the Leftist leaders are unaware of all this but they are deliberately trying to disrupt the Government by subversive methods. The tactics are familiar; they seem to have been taken straight out of some Chinese text book on civil commotion —the sort of literature that is meant for export.

By exploiting the suffering or emotion of the common man, the Leftist leaders are doing the greatest disservice to the nation. Hartals

and strike release only the destructive urges and serve as a grave setback to production. To glorify enforced Roman holidays at a time of grave economic crisis is as perverse as it is puerile.

The ordinary citizen dislikes involvement public exhibitionism as a method of drawing attention even to legitimate grievances or for any other purpose. But a few rabble - rousers can incite groups to paralyse normal life, just as in Parliament and in some State legislatures a handful of members have demonstrated how easy it is to coerce an unorganised and unprepared majority and bring proceedings to a violent and disorderly end. What happens in the legislatures has a pervasive effect on public behaviour outside.

The minority that holds up normal work either in the legislatures or in the streets and offices and factories must by now have recognised that the law of diminishing returns is beginning to operate against disrupters. The failure of the Delhi **Bandh** and the Bangalore **Bandh** prove this. Even in West Bengal, there was a stirring of public resentment against the organisers of the **Bandh.** In some cases, people removed road blacks and prevented attempts at looting private property. Ration shops were kept open in many parts of the State. At some public meetings, the organisers and sponsors of the **Bandh** were sharply questioned about their real motives and allegiance. These are welcome signs of public awakening.

Anti-social elements have an advantage till the peaceful citizen bestirs himself and acts energetically in defence of his rights. There are areas in the country where food is as scarce as in Calcutta; and yet people did not set out to get more food by damaging or destroying public property which ultimately is their own property. Where the public and the leadership understand the elements of discipline and responsible behaviour, the most difficult problems can be settled without **Bandhs** and bloodshed.

What each day of a **Bandh** costs the nation is difficult to assess precisely. But it is clear that loss arises not only from damage or destruction of public property but from a number of other causes. One day's stoppage of work in factories means more than a setback to essential production in each factory but has a chain reaction in many other spheres. It is impossible to estimate how much avoidable suffering has been caused because the sick were denied proper medical attention.

Leaving this out, it is estimated that each day's stoppage of work in factories and other establishments in West Bengal cost something like Rs. 15 crores to the nation as a whole. That is the magnitude of the damage the Leftist inflicted on the country and that is what citizens can organise themselves to put an end to. Even the best of Governments often aggravate the situation if they step in to deal with problems of this kind and state governments generally are not among the best in the world. The West Bengal Government could have acerted trouble if they had taken action at a much earlier stage. But where Governments fail, the citizens have an opportunity to combine and safeguard their interests.

The pre-election year is generally a turbulent year and the Opposition leaders feel they owe it to themselves to "make their presence felt" and make life intolerable for the ruling party. What they succeed in doing, however, is to make life difficult for the ordinary citizen whose vote they seek.

Some Opposition leaders have made it plain that since they have little hope of dislodging the Congress Party by normal democratic processes, the only course open to them is to try and dislodge it by violent means. That is merely a sign of desperation, the hysteria of the weak. The Opposition seems to function in the belief that so long as the Congress Party suffers, it does not matter if the country suffers along with it. That is hardly the way to win popular affection.

(Contd from page 37)

equipped with moral authority, can easily pass through all kinds of hardship. In order to achieve the desired result it is the moral authority of the leadership which creates an atmosphere of pleasure for surmounting the difficulties. No useful purpose will be served in blaming this or that generation for having failed to provide the leadership of the requisite type. It is always the privilege of the youths to provide the right type of leadership to the society in all circumstances. I feel sure that the youths of India will provide that leadership which will enthuse the people to overcome all difficulties and build a bright future for India.

CURRENT TRENDS IN MOVIE-MAKING

—I. K. MENON
Secretary, IMPPA.

When a motion picture like **"Shaheed"** rouses the national consciousnes of the people or a picture like **"Chemmeen"** takes the people to emotional heights or a picture like **"Sangam"** gives them ecstasies in entertainment, the trials and tribulations behind the art-enterprise and the financial risks involved in the movie business are often forgotten.

Movies are "human" in spirit and in form. The stars who glitter on the screen have a hard time on the sets facing the studio lights. The Director, the cameraman and the crew have to attend to a thousand details before a single movement of a character in a movie is picturised. This is not just putting the switch on in a mechanised industry where production goes on when the hand works the machine. Here is a business where human talents form the essential raw material for production. When the finished product is placed in the market, it is again the human mind which has to decide its fate at the box office. The vital human factor attached to movie-making and its exploitation makes film business uncertain and least amenable to the normal ways of industrial thinking.

To the ordinary picture-goer a picture becomes good when it provides him entertainment and relaxation after a day's labour. To the critic, the picture has to be artistic, technically superb and emotionally deep. The common man is satisfied and even elated at superficial glamour, but the critic looks far deeper into this product of art and talents. A wide gulf develops between the success at the box office and the verdict of the critic. It is often said that many of the pictures which win awards and prizes at Film Festivals and competitions are not financially successful at the box office. The obvious reason for this difference in the verdict of the patrons and the judges or critics is the mental make up of the two sections who view pictures.

WORKING CLASS PATRONAGE

In India, today, the patronage of the cinema is by and large dominated by the working class whose over-all economic conditions have improved, while the middle class who constitute the intelligentsia is ousted from the economic life of the country due to the continuous process of financial strain. The question whether the producer moulds the taste of the people or the people decide the contents of motion picture will perhaps remain as open as the age-old question as to who was created first, Adam or Eve. In a democracy, it has to be said that the people get the Government they deserve and that they receive the pictures which they want. In the pursuit of superficial glamour and fabulous sets, the common people pay little heed to the innermost artistic values of a motion picture.

Realisation of these basic facts becomes necessary in any assessment of the current trends in motion picture making, and occasional criticism heard about Indian films in Parliament and outside.

Since film production is a costly venture involving heavy risks and cooperative effort, producers make all possible attempts to include items which draw at the box office. Dances and songs are always popular with the people and these are included in films at considerable expense. Because of their popularity they have become more costly in India than in any other country. Romantic situations are developed in Indian films through songs and dances, since censorship does not permit physical intimacy to express love as is allowed in foreign pictures. Expression of innermost feelings through songs has been widely appreciated by Indian audiences, although the dramatic impact may be lost on certain occasions.

Popularity of a few stars, music directors and playback singers has resulted in higher costs, delay in production and greater risks in this enterprise. With the advent of colour to the Indian film, and consequent further increase in costs, this trend towards employing popular stars and others has been on the increase to enable the producer to cover the risk as much as possible.

With fabulous production on the one hand

and ordinary pictures on the other, film makers have been attempting to meet the entertainment needs of the community. The experimental film and the purposeful films are produced to meet a high social purpose, but the financial insecurity underlying such ventures leaves the producer in a state of greater uncertainty. The Film Finance Corporation, which has stepped in to finance such pictures, seems to have been disheartened because of the box office failure of most of such pictures.

Heavy taxation and paucity of theatres in the country are serious obstacles to the production of pictures without **marque** values and fabulous sets. When theatres are available on reasonable terms, probably specialised audiences would come in to patronise such pictures also.

Variety is the spice of life and entertainment. Various types of films have to be produced to meet the tastes of large sections of people in a country like India. Pictures could be financially successful even without attempting to appeal to the largest number of audiences, if adequate theatre facilities are available and if ticket prices could be kept at the minimum possible.

OBSTACLES

Present rates of entertainment tax and lack of theatres in the country have made it extremely difficult for the small scale producers and average pictures to cover up the costs.

The motion picture is a dynamic medium of mass communication and mass entertainment. It looks after the leisure of the community. In the glamour and popularity of a few in filmdom, men in public life should not lose sight of the fact that the present labour legislation is intended to provide more and more leisure to the community in India. There is no other medium which can do this as the motion picture. Neither the stage nor the TV have progressed in India as they should. Effort should be made to make the cinema accessible to all with a large number of cinemas and with minimum tax entertainment.

A vicious circle seems to be developing around the policy attached to the movie. Because of the glamour attached to it and the success of a few, Government consider it a luxury which can be taxed as such. Film

(Contd. on page 72)

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SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

—ASOKA MEHTA
Minister of Planning & Social Welfare

The specific steps through which we have to march towards a healthy society are a simultaneous reduction in birth and death rates and an increase in the longevity of our people. The birth rate which has remained uncontrolled so far, was 41 per thousand at the end of the Third Plan period. On the basis of certain plausible assumptions regarding the tempo of family planning, this rate is expected to come down to 38.6 at the end of the Fourth Plan, 35.1 at the end of the fifth and 28.7 by the end of the Sixth plan. If the tempo of family planning can be accelerated right from the beginning of the Fourth Plan period, the birth rate may even be brought down to 25 per thousand in the next 15 years. While this object is stated simply, its fulfilment presupposes a long and intricate chain of social action. A continuous reduction in birth rate is generally associated with increased economic development.

In an overpopulated and economically backward country like ours, one has to think of a frontal attack on the birth rate through elaborate family planning measures. This at once meets with all kinds of psychological and social resistance which is the result of centuries of custom-bound, traditional existence and which has to be persistently worn out through exposing the people to the influences of education and a scientific outlook. Only a striking force of practical social reformers, a large number of whom has the necessity to be doctors, can accomplish the task. Such an organisation has not to be ready with services and supplies to the people but also has to be motivated by a real sense of dedication to the task of changing fundamentally their attitudes and habits.

FALL IN DEATH RATE

The task of bringing down the death rate is a simple affair although in a tropical country like ours it is by no means an easy task. The rate of decline in mortality has been stepped up considerably during the decade 1951-60 with the re-organisation of our medical services. We now have a fairly good knowledge of the important causes of death and the pattern of mortality in our country. Deaths which are registered show that 19 per cent of them occur under one year of age, 18.5 per cent in ages between one and four, 8.7 per cent in 5-14, 15.3 per cent in 15-39, 15.1 per cent in 40-59 and 23.4 per cent in ages between 60 and above. It is clear from these data that there is a high proportion of infant and childhood deaths.

The 14th round of the National Sample Survey showed an infant death rate of 146 per thousand live births for both sexes combined. Deaths during the first month of life formed about 45 per cent of the total infant deaths, of which 25 per cent occurred under one week. In regard to the causes of death infective and parasitic diseases, diseases of the respiratory system, diseases of the digestive systems and diseases peculiar to early infancy each account for something like 15 per cent of the total deaths. Fatality from most of these diseases can be greatly reduced with greater public health and medical attention.

Organisation of our medical services with their roots in our villages and improvements in rural and urban sanitation as well as drinking water supply hold the key to this development, And it will surely bring down the death rate.

An increase in the average life expectancy of the people is dependent on a gradual improvement in their earnings, living conditions, nutritional status and in their general enjoyment of social welfare. According to recent reviews made by U.N. of the decline of mortality rates in certain ECAFE countries, it seems that countries which have an expectation of life less than 55 years may expect an annual gain of 0.5 years or more in their expectation of life. The everage expectation of life in India during the Third Five Year Plan was 48.7 years in the case of males and 47.4 years in the case of females. These rates are expected to go up to 53.2 and 51.9 years for males and females respectively during the Fourth Plan period.

The steps outlined towards a healthy society

call for a large-scale investment in medical welfare, health services and public health engineering. As against an expenditure of about Rs. 248 crores on health during the Third Plan we propose to spend Rs. 578 crores in the Fourth Plan period, an increase of more than 130 per cent.

The expenditure on drinking water supply and sanitation will go up from about Rs. 131 crores in the Third Plan to Rs. 371 crores in the Fourth Plan. The more important advances will be shared by the expenditure on medical care which goes up from Rs. 50 crores in the Third Plan to Rs. 165 crores in the Fourth, by the expenditure on medical education, training and research which goes up from Rs. 71 crores in the Third Plan to Rs. 190 crores in the Fourth and by that on family planning which increases from Rs. 31 crores in the Third Plan to Rs. 95 crores in the Fourth Plan. Altogether 60,000 hospital beds will be added in the Fourth Plan to the 240,000 existing at the end of the Third Plan. Thirty non-medical colleges will be established in addition to the existing 85, raising the annual admission capacity in the MBBS by 8,500. As a result an additional 45,000 doctors and nearly an equal number of nurses will be trained by the end of the Fourth Plan.

DECISIVE STEPS

The decisive steps towards a healthy society are exceedingly difficult to take in a community characterised by social backwardness. Caste, customs, superstitious practice and the lack of social dynamism raise obstacles at every step. Psychological resistance to change and reluctance to accept new ways of living make the people suspicious of scientific treatment of disease and modernising influences upon their lives. It is precisely for this reason that the doctors whom we train today to render service to the community need a social orientation which only a few among their precursors possessed.

The medical practioners of today have not only a responsibility towards realising the palpably professional tasks of bringing down birth and death rates and the life expectancy of the people through reduction of disease, but they have also a vital part to play in transforming the caste-ridden, custom-bound and static society into an equal, free and dynamic society based on reason, science and humanity. They have to regard themselves primarily as soldiers of social change if their more specifically professional tasks are to be performed efficiently. In this task of social change their role is not going to be less important than that of the other types of social workers or politicians who move with the people.

SOCIAL ORIENTATION

In order to put our young men and women of medicine to this social use in addition to their more specific role in the rural community, we have to equip them with a proper social orientation. The correct approach is to look upon our doctors in service of our communities as the spearhead of social reform, as the injectors of a scientific and modern outlook which alone is capable of dissolving the sadness and fatalism of centuries. It is not merely a few hardships that these young men and women will have to put up with in their task of bringing health to our rural communities. It is the whole way of existence of these communities that they have to contend with and transform in order to free the springs of human action in the countryside.

Not merely the treatment of disease, but the rescue and healing of the whole man trapped in the toils of static centuries will form their mission in life. They will have to become conscious agents of social change without which no lasting improvement even in the matter of health is really conceivable.

The task of forging the human instrument for social transformation in the countryside will require a good deal of research. Much work is going on in the wider field of community development in its most inclusive sense. The importance of the large international aid which has come to sustain medical education and research cannot be exaggerated. While this assistance cannot be fully requited, we will be justifying it by developing our research into the social environment of our diseases in the shortest possible time and by raising successive bands of young men and women dedicated to the task of transforming that environment. In order to be able to do so we should not only have all the material and financial resources that we may require, but also a measure of freedom of research and innovation. I am sure that nobody will grudge us if we direct our freedom to the cause of social transformation in our country.

★

(Contd. from page 48)
was implemented swiftly is recent history.

Soon after stepping down from office, Kamaraj presided over the plenary session of the Congress at Bhubaneshwar; and he is now having his second term of office. The death of Jawaharlal Nehru added to the responsibilities of the Congress President. Kamaraj was successful in avoiding a contest in 1964 for the leadership of the Congress Parliamentary Party. But two years later, a contest was inevitable. These events are too recent to admit of any objective comment.

Whether Kamaraj will perform a **kayakalpa** and rejuvenate the Congress remains to be seen; but he is assured of a permanent niche in the roll-call of worthies.

———

(Contd. from page 45)
growth of individuals is necessary for nationality. It is the conception of aggressive nationality in Europe that stands in the way of world peace ; but once the truth is grasped that it is not possible for a nation to inflict a loss on another nation without at the same time inflicting a loss on itself, the problem of Humanity is solved. The essential truth of nationality lies in this, that it is necessary for each nation to develop itself, express itself and realise itself, so that Humanity itself may develop itself, express itself and realise itself. (From the Presidential address delivered at the Congress Session at Gaya in 1922).

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(Contd. from page 69)
makers plan their production taking greater speculative risks to give products which would attract the largest number. In this process a few at the top achieve greater success and the smaller ones die away. The experimental or purposeful film remains a dream to many.

Trends in film making have to change. And they will be changed with a change in Government's policy in the matter of taxation and construction of new cinemas and greater freedom from censorship.

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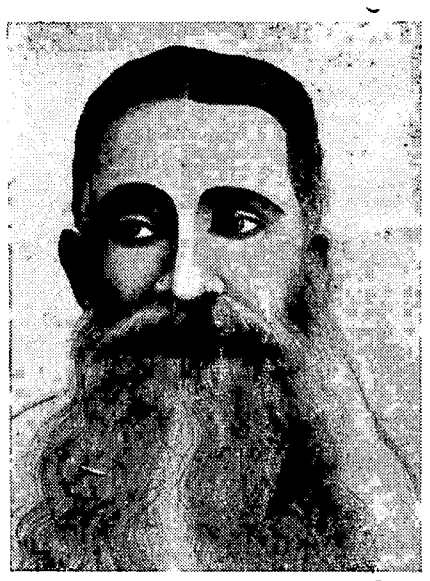
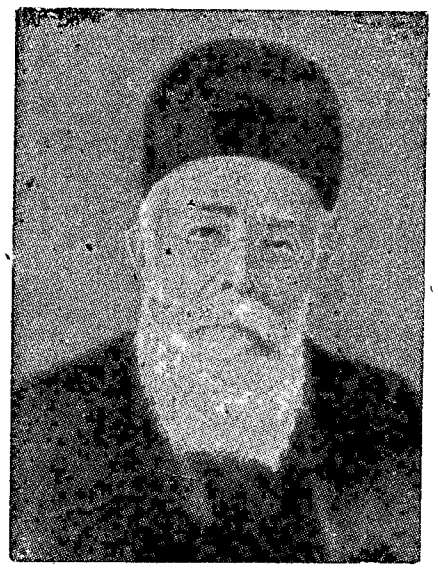


Womesh Chunder Bonnerji

Mr. W. C. Bonnerji was born at Kidderpore in December 1844. He received his School education from the Hindu School till 1861. After this his father got him articled to an attorney and then he joined the office of Mr. W. F Gallenders. In 1885 when the First Congress Session was held in Bombay he was asked to preside over it. President of the 8th Session of the Congress held in Allahabad in 1892. In 1902 he decided to take up his permanent residence in England. He passed away after a short illness on July 21, 1902.



Dadabhai Naoroji

Dadabhai Naoroji was born in 1825. Beginning his connection with the Congress from its very outset, he continued to serve it till the evening of his life. He presided over the Second Session of the Congress in Calcutta in 1886. He was also President of the Lahore Session in the year 1893 and Calcutta Session in 1906. He died in 1917 at the age of 93.

Badruddin Tyabji

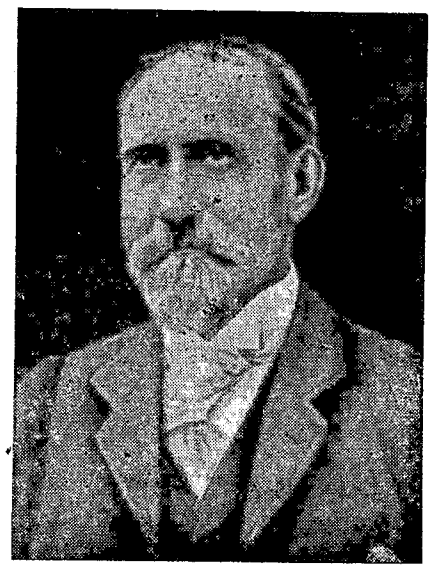
Badruddin Tyabji was a staunch Congress man and was President of the Congress held in Madras in 1887. Before entering politics he was a judge of the Bombay High Court.

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was born in 1845. He would no doubt have been a most successful and distinguished servant of the British and benefited his country to the greatest extent if that was possible to an Indian official. No one in official bondage could have given to the City of Bombay fifty years of uninterrupted and selfless service. His unrivalled power over his countrymen and his unique position in the non-official world of India

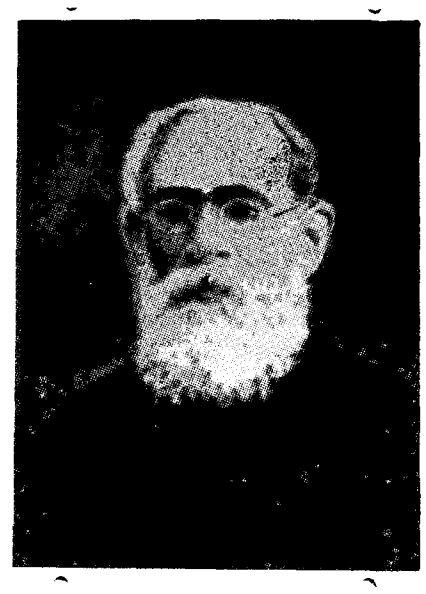
rendered his goodwill and cooperation so useful to the highest authorities. Even his services to the Bombay Municipal Corporation were so much that it is difficult to mention all of them here. He passed away in the year 1916.

Sir William Wedderburn



Sir William Wedderburn was born in 1836. Had been for over a generation the lid-less watcher in

England of the interests of India and ever since the question of constitutional reform took shape, he had been giving and receiving suggestions as to the lines on which it should proceed. His love of India and anxiety to promote the interests of India were a passion — a passion that gives joy to life and redeems humanity from grossness. He gave some of his own money for the service of India. He was President of the Congress for 1889 and then in 1910, the first was in Bombay and the second at Allahabad. He died in the year 1918.



George Yule

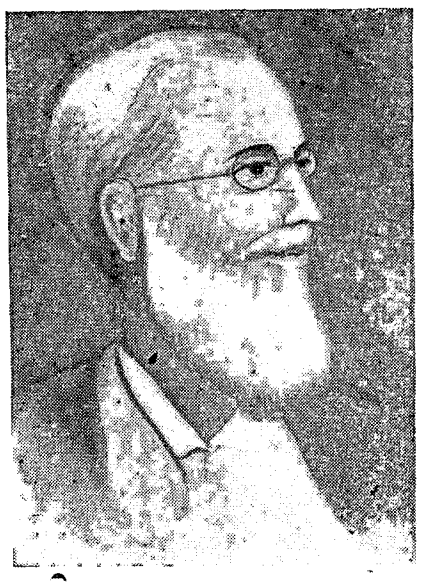
George Yule was one of the Englishmen who fought for India's freedom. At the risk of his personal position among his countrymen he worked hard for the National Congress. He presided over the 4th Session of the Indian National Congress in the year 1888 held at Allahabad. He died in the year 1892.

P. Ananda Charlu

Ananda Charlu was born in 1843. He was a shining light of the South Indian political firmament for nearly two decades. He was a notable personality with a rugged eloquence all his own. He presided over the 7th Session of the Congress held in 1891 at Nagpur. He died in the year 1908.

Alfred Webb

Alfred Webb was another English man who at the risk of his personal position fought for India's freedom. He helped the Congress a lot for its progress. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress in the year 1894, when the Congress was held at Madras. He



was a Member of Parliament. He died in 1908.

Sir Surendranath Banerjee

Sir Surendranath Banerjee was born in 1848. He had a chequered life, having known both poverty and competence, and having been at one time imprisoned and at another knighted by the Crown. At the threshold of his career Sir Surendranath had to go to law in England for his position in the I.C.S. A little later he was dismissed from the service for a comparatively minor offence and was refused admission to the English Bar. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1895 when the Congress was held in Poona and then in 1902 when the Congress was held at Ahmedabad. After fifty years of useful public service he passed away in 1925.

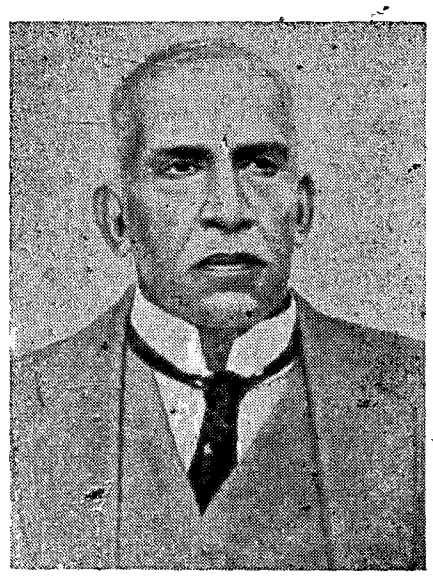
Rahimtulla Sayani

Rahimtullah Sayani was born in 1847. He was a staunch nationalist muslim. He had no communal

leanings. He worked for the Indian National Congress in 1896 when it was held at Calcutta. He died in 1902.

C. Sankaran Nair

Sankaran Nair was born in 1857. He was a power in his own-days and stalwart in intellect as he was in stature. He was called upon to preside over the Amravati Session of the Congress in 1897 in appreciation of his selfless service to the Congress organisation. Sankaran Nair was drafted to the bench of the Madras High Court and was appointed as a member of the



Executive Council. He resigned from that post as a protest against the continuance of the Martial Law in 1919. This made him very popular. He died in 1934.

National Congress held at Madras in 1898. He died in 1906.

Ramesh Chandra Dutt

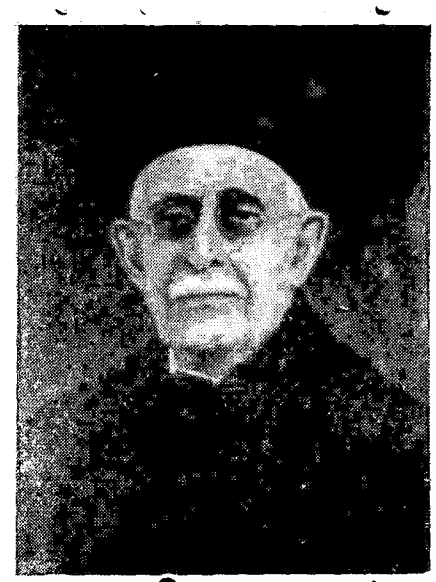
Ramesh Chandra Dutt was born in 1848. He was an outstanding character in the Congress politics towards the end of the last century. He was in the Indian Civil Service. He cast in his lot with the Congress and brought to bear his rich experience and knowledge acquired over a long course of years spent as an I.C.S. officer on the public questions of the days. He was a great authority on Land Revenue affairs, Economic questions and famines. He presided over the Congress in 1850 at Lucknow.

Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was born in 1845. He was a staunch Congress Congressman. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress held at Lahore. He did very valuable services to the City of Bombay. He died in the year 1923.

Dinshaw Edalji Wacha

Dinshaw Edalji Wacha was born in 1844. He became President of the Congress in 1901 and showed his brilliant oratory at the first Session of the Congress held in Bombay. He earned the title of 'Firebrand of Bombay' for his firing speeches full of facts and with an intimate knowledge of the subjects. He was elected Joint Gen. Secretary

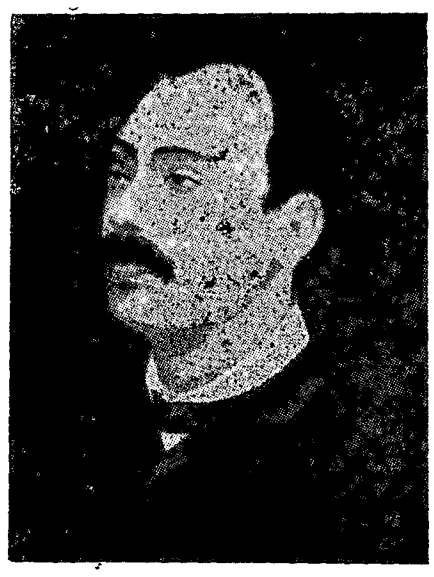


Ananda Mohan Bose

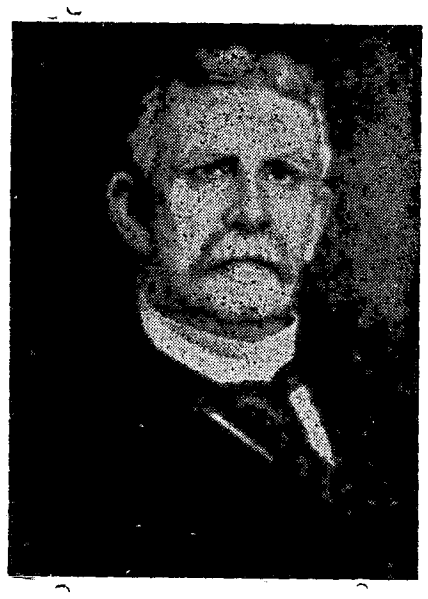
Ananda Mohan Bose was born in 1846. Stet a famous social and religious reformer who occupied a foremost place in the progress of the Brahmo Sāmaj. Was the first secretary of the Indian Association started in Calcutta in the year 1876. Took active interest in Congress since 1896. Became the President of the 14th Session of the Indian

of the Congress since 1896 and continued in the same position till 1913. He had been one of the most outstanding figures of the Congress for over a quarter of a century. There were few to equal him in talents, mastery of facts and in the intimate knowledge of many subjects like the military question. He died in 1936.

Lal Mohan Ghose

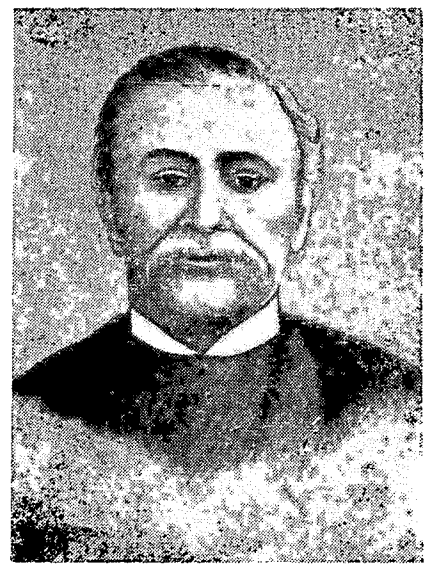


Lal Mohan Ghose was born in 1849. He was a political disciple of John Bright. He was a great orator inheriting the mastery diction and style in his oratory from his great master. He was elected President of the 19th Session of the Indian National Congress held in Madras in the year 1903.



Sir Henry Cotton

Sir Henry Cotton was born in 1845. He came to India as an official of the Government of India. While in India he got fascination for the Indian National Congress and became one of its staunch supporters. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress in the year 1904 when the Session was held at Bombay. He died in the year 1919.



Gopal Krishna Gokhale

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was born in 1886. As a staunch Congressman he attended the Congress first in 1889 with Lokmanya Tilak. He was President of the Congress

in 1905 at Benaras. Gokhale took a leading part in the Congress after the Surat split. He visited South Africa and helped Gandhiji who held Gokhale as his political Guru, in his campaign of passive resistance. His great constructive work was founding of the Servants of India Society.

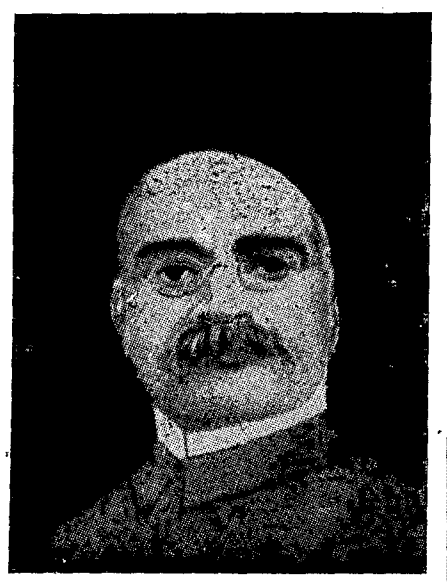
Dr. Rash Behary Ghose

Dr. Rash Behary Ghose was born in 1845 in Bengal. Like other Bengali Nationalist leaders, he was a forceful speaker and good fighter for the freedom of Motherland. He was President of the Indian National Congress in 1907 when the Session was held at Surat and the subsequent year at Madras. After a successful career he died in 1921.

Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was born in the year 1862 in an orthodox Hindu family. His spare, lithe frame, suggestive of austere regimen, looked taller than that what it was and derived a striking effect from the close white drapery which he always wore. He was responsible for bringing the Banaras Hindu University to its present position. He was elected President of the Congress in 1909 at Lahore Session

and also in 1918 when the Session was held at Delhi.



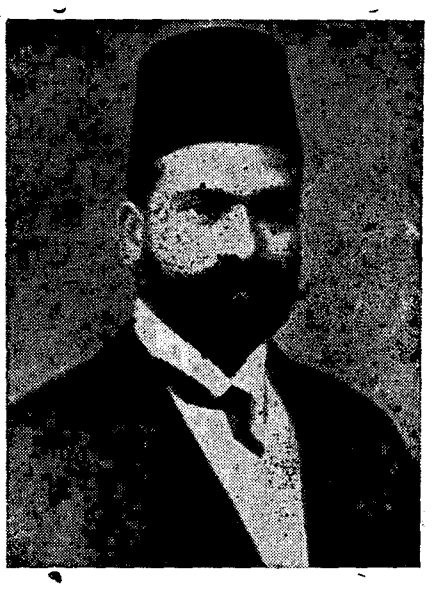
Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar

Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar was born in 1864. He made a mark on Congress history by his devotion to this great organisation. He was called upon to preside over the Calcutta Congress in 1911. In fact Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald was to preside over this Session, but he had to go to England suddenly due to the death of Mrs. Mac Donald. Dhar was asked to take his place.

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar

Shri Mudholkar was born in 1857. His first association with the Congress was in 1888, at its Fourth Session held in Allahabad. In 1912 he was chosen as the President of the Congress held at Bankipore. He was a laborious student of Indian politics covering a wide range of interests. He was keenly interested in Agricultural Indebtedness, Poverty and Economic upliftment including Technical education. He was among the hard-working Congressmen of the earlier era. He died in 1921.

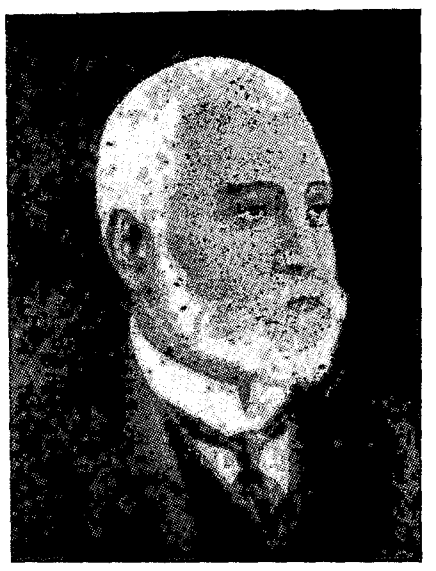
Nawab Sayeed Mohammad



Nawab Sayeed Mohammad was President of the 28th Session of the Congress held in Karachi in 1913. He was Jt. Gen. Secretary for many years. He was one of the foremost public man. He was elected to the Indian National Congress so early as 1901. He was one of those selected to draft the Constitution of the Congress. Being a patriot he urged that the various communities of India should advance together. He died in Madras in 1916.

Bhupendra Nath Basu

Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu was born in 1869. He was a successful solicitor in Caloutta with a large practice. His oratory was undoubtedly of a highly cultured type. He was able to act his part and display considerable emotion. He was of the opinion that the Congress should act as His Majesty's Opposition. He presided over the



Madras Session of the Indian National Congress held in 1914. He died in 1922.

Lord S. P. Sinha

Satyendra P. Sinha was born in 1863. During 1917 he was made Freeman of the City of London. His Majesty's Privy Councillor and King's Counsel—distinctions which no Indian had achieved before. In 1919 he was appointed under Secretary of State for India. Afterwards he was made a Baron. In 1921 he was appointed Governor of

Bihar and Orissa. He was President of the Congress held in Bombay in 1915. Of the many qualities which went to the making of his sweet and attractive character, a high

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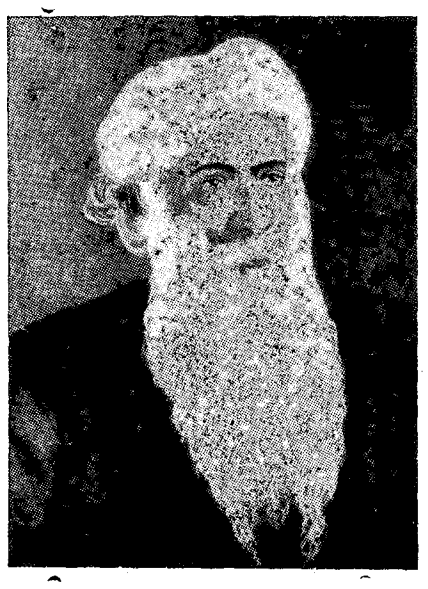
place must be given to the tender regard which he always displayed for the feelings of others and the intense attachments with which he clung to friends. He passed away in 1927 at the age of 64.



Ambika Charan Mazumdar

Ambika Charan Mazumdar was born in 1851. He was a lawyer. He became the President of the Indian National Congress in 1916 when the Congress was held at Lucknow. His fights of eloquence were of rare order. He was the author of a fine and famous book on the Congress entitled 'Indian National Evolution'. He passed away in 1922.

Dr. Annie Besant

Dr. Annie Besant was born in the year 1847. She had devoted her life to work of diversified character in many departments, for many purposes in varying circumstances and conditions. She was a woman of tremendous energy. She was able to work day and night without intermission and all on a very high level of efficiency. She was a fine orator. She was a great, strong and beneficient-minded woman, a mine of energy and with a wonderful library within herself of wide knowledge. She was a great fountain of inspiration, for the benefit not only of her environment but of the whole country she served, nay of the whole of humanity. She was President of the Congress in 1917. She died in the year 1933.

Sayeed Hassan Imam

Sayeed Hassan Imam was a forceful orator. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress when its Special Session was held in Bombay in 1918.

Pandit Motilal Nehru

Pandit Motilal Nehru was born in 1861 in Kashmir. His family had moved to and settled in the United Provinces. As a practising lawyer in the Allahabad High Court and the courts of Oudh he soon distinguished himself and in due course became an advance of the High Court. He was one of the leaders of the Bar and had one of the largest income earned by any lawyer in India. He became widely known both as a distinguished lawyer and a leader of society. He was a handsome man with keen, intellectual features. His personal charm and unfailing courtesy were characteristic of his culture and

fine temperament. Politics did not attract Motilal in his early life. When he was over forty, he attended for the first time the Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1960. By nature and training he was a sober thinker and reasoner. He was neither impulsive nor emotional. He never used the language of passion and never lost his balance of an intellectual poise. He died in 1931.

Lala Lajput Rai

Lala Lajpat Rai was born in a family whose profession was trade.

He was popularly known as the Lion of Punjab. He was a valiant fighter for the freedom of the Motherland. He was exiled from the political activities. Was elected Pre ident of the Indian National Congress in the year 1920. He died in the year 1928 after a successful political career.

Dr. C Vijayaraghavachariar

Dr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar was born on the 18th June in the Chingleput district of Madras Presidency. He belonged to a middle class family. He studied Sanskrit early in life having a powerful memory and keen intellect. He had his English education in Madras and graduated in 1875. He had worked in a college as a lecturer which he resigned to study law and after qualifying as a pleader started his practice at Salem. He distinguished himself as a first class

lawyer and later on as a Legislator. He was associated with the Congress almost from its inception. He was one among those who drafted a constitution for the Congress. He stood aloof from the Congress since the Surat split in 1907. The moderate Congress did not appeal to his judgment. He again joined the Congress in 1918 and took active part. He was President of the Congress in the year 1920 at Nagpur. He was one of the most noted public men of India. The best part of his life was consecrated to the service of the Motherland in active association with the Nationa Congress. Fearless and independent, intensely patriotic, administered by liberal instincts and views, he combined a vivid and vigorous personality with a fundamental loyalty to causes to which he was attracted. He died on the 19th April 1944. He played a vital part in shaping the destiny of India.

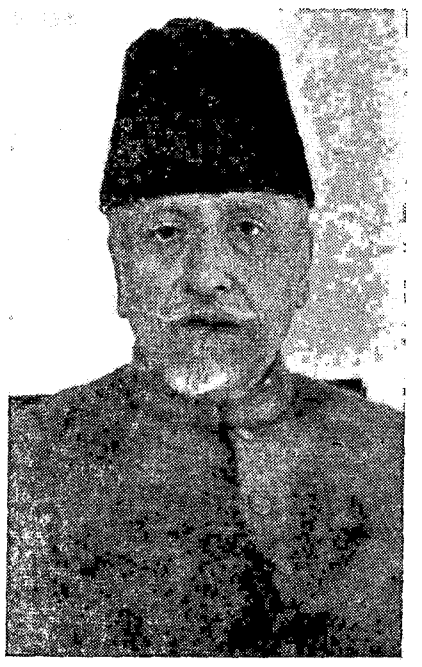
Hakim Ajmal Khan

Hakim Ajmal Khan was born in 1865. A staunch Nationalist Muslim he worked hard for the Indian National Congress. He was asked to preside over the 36th Session of the Congress held at Ahmedabad when the President, C. R. Das, was in prison in the year 1921. He died in the year 1927.

C. R. Das

Chittaranjan Das was born in 1870. He went into politics rather late, but he simply stormed the citadel of leadership. He achieved the distinction, rare among Indian politicians, of accomplishing a set purpose, the end of diarchy in Bengal. He had the flexibility of mind and resourcefulness, regarded by all as full of promise. The idealism of Bengal had a firm hold on him and he often poured out the longings of his soul in moving and eloquent verse. Though skilled in modern law and in all the tricks of its practice, his conceptions of a happy and prosperous India were of the old world type, exalting simplicity above modern civilisation, and poverty above the refinement of life. He presided over the Congress in 1922 at Gaya. He died in 1925.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad



Ahmed Abul Kalam who in the later years of his life distinguished himself as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was born in Mecca, the birth place of the Great Prophet Mohamed, in September 1888. Two important factors that promised the greatness of Maulana were his grand ancestry and the holy land which gave birth to him. From parent's side he inherits the well known doctors of divinity and widely respected men of intellect and courage. Besides the religious distinctions in Maulana's family which went to the making of the

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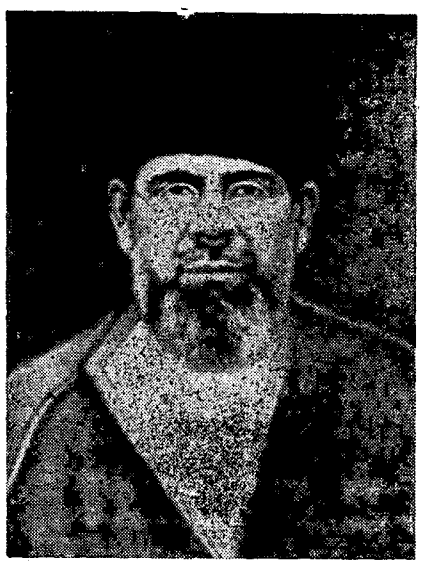
great scholar and a great preacher of Islam, he also inherits administrative intelligence. In 1898 his father returned with his family to India and settled in Calcutta. Before coming to India Maulana had spent his childhood in Mecca and Madina and completed his studies in the Islamic world. He learnt Arabic from his mother and Urdu and Persian from his father. After his father's death in 1908 he settled in Calcutta and started his famous Urdu Journal 'Al-Hilal'. This time Indian Muslims were keeping away from the National political movements and were regarded as opponents of the Congress. Through his paper he attracted many muslims into the Congress fold. He started his political activities from a very early age. He has the powers to mould the audience to his own way of thinking. He is not only gifted with the power of writing which could go straight to the hearts of the readers but is also endowed with the persuasive eloquence of an orator which very few Indian leaders can lay claim. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1940. The country's political destiny took shape during his presidentship. He has been in charge of the Education Ministry ever since India gained freedom.

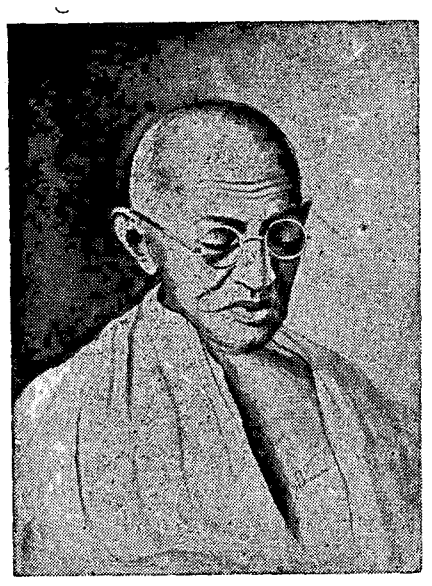
Maulana Mohamed Ali



Maulana Mohamed Ali was born in the year 1878. He was a staunch Nationalist, a good orator and also a journalist. He was elected President of the 38th Session of the Indian National Congress held in 1923 at Cocanada. Of late the Maulana had differences with his other collegues, but he fought for India's freedom till his last. He died in the year 1931. • • •

Mahatma Gandhi

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on October 1869 at Porbandar in Kathiawar. After his education there he left for England for the Bar. After passing the Bar-at-Law he returned to India. He then left for South Africa. There he started practice. Seeing the conditions of the Indians in South Africa, he worked for their emancipation. He founded the effective weapon "Satyagraha" there to get justice done to the Indians. After some years of hard life in South Africa he returned to India. On return he took an active interest in the political affairs of India. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress in the year 1924 when the Session was held at Belgaum. He brought into the Congress fold the creed of non-violence. The attainment of India's freedom was mainly due to Mahatmaji. He lived for truth and non-violence. He fought for the removal of untouchability and for temple entry. Mahatma's death due to bullet wounds on 30th January 1948 was the greatest loss to the nation in recent years.



Sarojini Naidu

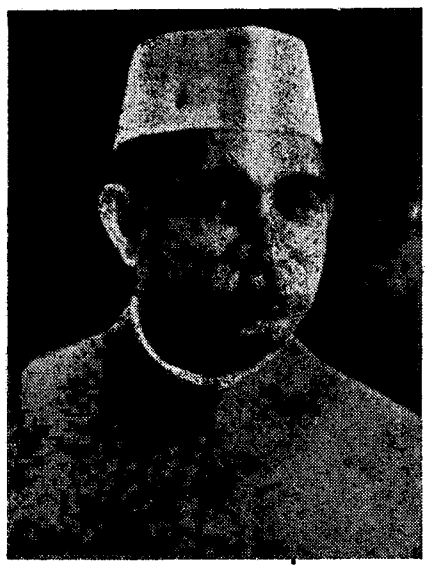
Sarojini Naidu was born on 13th February 1879 at Hyderabad, Deccan. Was educated at Hyderabad and in London. Was popularly known as the Nightingale of India. Was a good writer and speaker. Was interested in lectures and addresses on questions of social, religious, educational and national progress. Was connected with women's movement in India and welfare of Students Was elected President of the Indian National Congress in the year 1925. The Session of that Congress was held at Cawnpore. Was a good fighter for Indian Freedom. Was Governor of Uttar Pradesh after India attained freedom. She died in 1949.

S. Srinivasa Iyengar

Srinivasa Iyengar was born in 1874. He had an individuality all

his own. That individuality brought him later into sharp conflict with Pandit Motilal Nehru in those days. He was an eminent lawyer and was also an eminent politician. He was elected President of the 41st Session of the Congress held at Gauhati in 1920. He died in the year 1941.

Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari

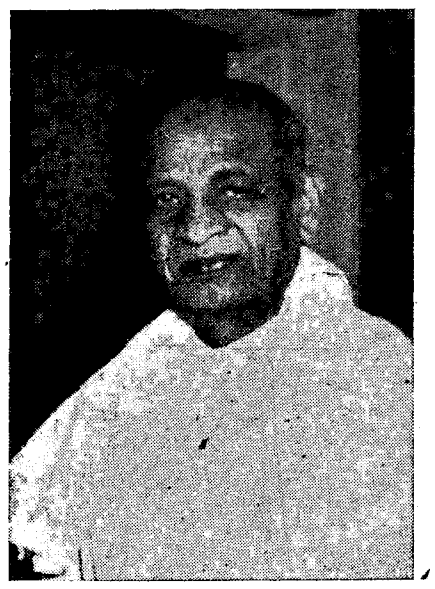


Dr. M. A. Ansari was born in 1880. He was a staunch Nationalist Muslim, to the last. He was elected President of the 42nd Session of Indian National Congress held at Madras in the year 1927. He died in 1936.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

Born on 14th November 1889,

Jawaharlal Nehru had inherited all the good qualities of his illustrious father Pandit Motilal Nehru which had made him the jewel of the Nation and idol of the masses. Next to the Father of the Nation, he would always be remembered as the liberator of this country and the architect of her destiny. As an international citizen instinctively humanitarian and emotional in his approach to world problems—Mr. Nehru stood supreme in the modern world. He had his own way of looking at world's conflicts. He became the President of the Congress first in 1929 and then in 1936, 1937 and 1946. He was educated mostly in England; Harrow School and Trinity College, Cambridge, Bar-at-law of the Inner Temple. After his return to India he practised as an Advocate of the Allahabad High Court. He was a Member of the All India Congress Committee from 1918 to 1964. He was India's first Prime Minister which he held till his death in 1964.

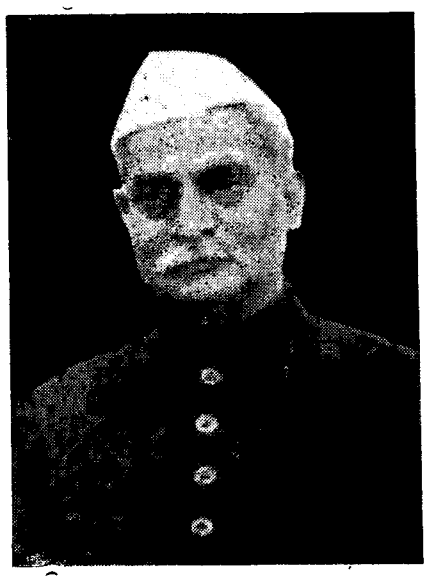


Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

He was born on 31st October 1875 in a farmer family. He had inherited in his temperament and action — the qualities typical of rural life. He was essentially a born leader of peasants. He had his education in unorthodox fashion. He passed the pleaders Examination and started practice early in life. At the age of 35 he went to England and qualified himself for the Bar. On his return to India he easily established a good practice in Ahmedabad. In 1917 he met Gandhiji and from that date he pushed himself into public life and soon was a very popular leader. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress at Karachi in 1931. Before he became the President of the Congress he had many triumphs to his credit of which the most important and significant was the heroic struggle of Bardoli in 1928 from when he came to be known as the Sardar. Sardar joined the Central Cabinet and was Dy. Prime Minister after independence. He held the portfolios of Home, Information and Broadcasting. As an administrator he was second to none. The integration, and consequent wiping out of Princely States in India was one of Sardar's great achievements. He was also known as the Iron Man of the Congress. Implicit discipline was maintained in the Congress organisation while Sardar was alive. In his death on 15th December 1950 the Nation lost one of its great sons.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad

Born on 3rd December 1884. Educated at Calcutta, Presidency College. Was professor, University Law College, Calcutta from 1914 to 1916. Worked in Champaran District with Gandhiji. Elected



Was with him in Kaira also. Worked as Private Secretary to Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1918. Was Professor of Politics in Benares Hindu University in 1919. Left the same and started Khadi Kendra. Was Members of the Working Committee and All India Congress Committee for many years. Was member for Food and Agriculture, Interim Government of India. Elected President of the Indian Republic on 26th January 1950 when India had been proclaimed as a republic.

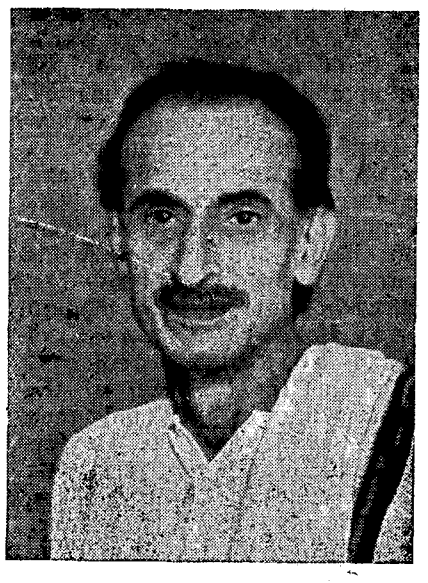
Subhas Chandra Bose

Was born on 23rd January 1897. After his education here he went to England for his I.C.S. and after passing returned to India. He resigned from the service as he

could not carry on under a foreign government. He was a staunch nationalist and militant fighter. He was a elected President of the Congress in 1938. Again he was elected in 1939 defeating his rival Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. From this the rift between him and the right wing started. Ultimately he had to resign his Presidentship. During the war-time he left India and after visiting Germany and Japan formed the I.N.A. in Singapore. From this period he was known as Netaji. He died in an Air crash on 18th August 1945.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani

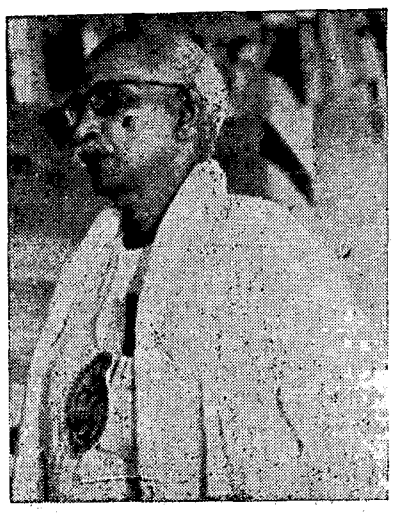
Was professor in Bihar under the Calcutta University from 1912 to 1917. Joined Mahatma Gandhi in Champaran Satyagraha in 1917.



President of the 48th Session of the Indian National Congress held in Bombay in October 1934 and then in 1939 at Calcutta. Started active part in National movements at an early age. Has been member of the and Village work. Was Principal of the Gujarathi Vidyapith from 1922 to 1927. Was General Secretary of the Indian National Congress from 1934 to June 1946 when he was elected as the President of the Indian National Congress. Was President at the Meerut Session in 1946. Resigned from the Congress subsequently and joined the Praja Socialist Party. Is a member of the Lok Sabha at present.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

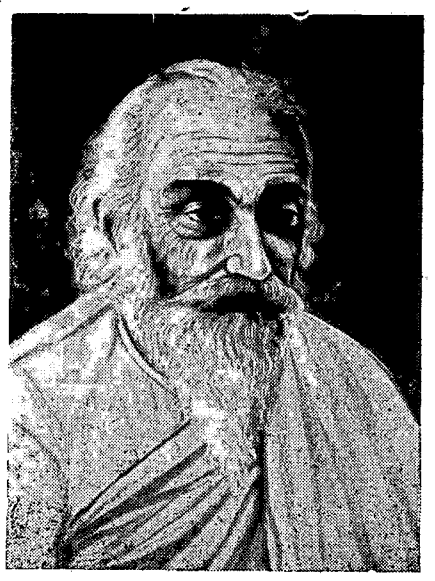
Born on 24th November 1880, he started life as a private medical



practitioner at Masulipatam in 1906. Had been a member of the All India Congress Committee since 1916. Had taken active part in the political movements all along. Stood for Congress Presidential election in 1939 against Subhas Chandra Bose and lost in the election. Elected President of the Congress in 1949. Is the historian of the Congress. Has been appointed Governor of Madhya Pradesh since 1952. In his death India lost the historian of the Congress.

Purshottamdas Tandon

Was practicing as Lawyer in Allahabad till 1921. Gave up the same owing to Non-Cooperation



movement the same year. Worked for some time as Secretary and General Manager, Punjab National Bank, Lahore. Then joined Servants of People's Society, founded by Lala Lajpat Rai in 1929. Took active part in Rowlatt agitation and Satyagraha. Was speaker of U. P. Legislative Assembly from 1937. Took active interest in Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. Was Popularly known as Rajashi Tandon. Was elected President of the Congress in the year 1950 when the Congress Session was held at Nasik. In his death India has lost one of its valiant fighters.

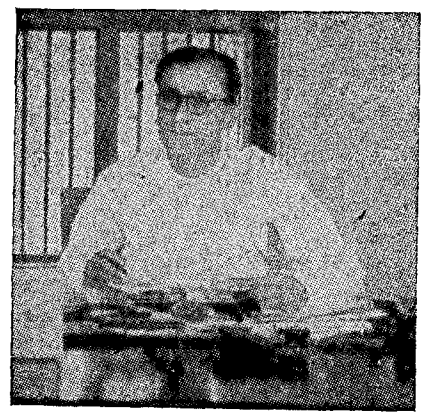
U. N. Dhebar

Mr. U. N. Dhebar was born on September 21, 1905. He was educated in Rajkot & Bombay. He practised as a lawyer in the court of Western India States Agency. He was imprisoned thrice for taking part in Satyagraha and in the Quit India Movements. He was the Secretary of Kathiawar Political Conference and G.P.C.C. Secretary in 1945–47. He then became the Chief Minister of Saurashtra for Six years. He was elected President of AICC at its 63rd session for a third time. Mr. Dhebar served as the Chairman of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission in 1960–61. He is now the Chairman of Khadi & Village Industries Commission.

Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi was born on November 19, 1917. As a child, Indira, had a lonely life because of the political upheaval around her which led to the intermittent imprisonment of her parents and grandparents. She attended her first Congress mass meeting as a spectator in her grandfather's arms at the age of three, and from this time she says her public life started. Inevitably in the political turmoil which lasted intermittently for the next 25 years, Indira's youth and early years were lived through a period of tension, conflict, achievement, frustration and heart-breaks which could not but affect her outlook and character. If she has emerged from that ordeal, as a woman of deep human understanding, of tolerance, dignity and poise, it is because of the influence of

the Mahatma and of her parents on her. At the age of 12, she organised a children's section of Gandhi Charkha Sangh. She had her education in Switzerland and England. On March 26, 1942, she married Feroze Gandhi. They have two sons, Sajiv and Sanjay. Feroze Gandhi died in 1960 at a promising peak in his career. She has been associated with a number of associations. She has been a member of the Congress Working Committee since 1955 and its President in 1959. She has been the hostess at Prime Minister's House during the Prime Ministership of Jawaharlal Nehru. On the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri in January 1966 she was elected leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party to become India's first Woman Prime Minister.



N. Sānjiva Reddy

Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy was born on May 19, 1913. He was educated in Anantapur and in Madras. He was imprisoned several times. He was elected the secretary, Madras Congress Legislature Party in 1947 and was Prohibition Minister in Madras for two years. He was President of Andhra PCC. When Andhra State was formed he became the Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra and then the Chief Minister. He resigned that to become Congress President. On relinquishing office he once again became the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh He joined the Centre to become Minister for Iron and Steel. At present Sanjiva Reddy is the Minister for Transport Communication, Aviation and Tourism.

D. Sanjivayya

Mr. D. Sanjivayya was born on February 14, 1921. He had his education in Anantapur and Madras Law College In 1952 he was elected MLA from the Kurnool Constituency. During the next 2 years he was the Minister for Co-operation and Housing, Madras Government. He then became the Minister for Local Administration & Labour, Andhra Pradesh. Soon he became the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. In 1962–63 he was chosen as the Congress President. At present Mr. Sanjivayya is the Union Minister for Industries. In the Lal Bahadur Shastri Cabinet he was appointed as the Union Labour Minister.

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(41)

SHRI S. K. PATIL

THE MAN BEHIND ART

—Dr. T. K. N. TRIVIKRAM, Ph.D.

The moon lives there from where she sheds her smile on nights. So does the artists dwell ever behind the whispers of his soul: Music, Painting, Poetry, all.

The sun shines on all things ministering justice of tint and tone to each infinitesimal speck, the maximum each could hold. Some take a little; some take all. Thus carbon lies, in sun or shade, painted ever with the darkness of night. Granite rocks and dried up leaves gather aught of a dull gray. Brooks and lakes and the waves of the sea are gay and blue and deep. Leaves and tendrils are luscious yellow, olive and green. Flowers put to shame the best of our girls. Clouds of twilight sing enchantment in our souls. Gems are festivals of the spectrum tints of the Sun. And diamond, the queen of gems, in full realisation of the brilliance of the Sun, lies sparkling in majesty, verily, verily a sunling.

The artists amongst us are the queens of all gems. They imbibe in full the beauty of creation and shed it all round in their inspired songs.

In the world of art one thing alone has a place: and that is a thing of BEAUTY and INTENSITY. Art is the creation by man of a thing of INTENSE BEAUTY-EMOTION. He alone who has an insatiate thirst for beauty, an ever-refreshing imagination and an all virile creative capacity could give us a thing of beauty and intensity. We know the history of millions on millions of men and women born dead these thousands of years gone by. But the creators of such beauty, we could count on the tips of our fingers. Rare are such men. But the more such gifts are found in a man the more is he misunderstood and the more is he scandalised. Some call him mad, and some call him a rascal. He is damned as a fool, and condemned as unsteady. He has to beg for his food. He is hated by women.

Let us think for a while why it is so; and why he is so different from the rest of humanity.

We are dealing with blossoms; and the buds that blossom. We are dealing with beauty in art; and the souls that blossom into that beauty.

BEAUTY: What it is we could not say. What it is we could not know. What it is we could not think. If formless God had form, that were beauty. If emotionless God had emotion, that were beauty. Beauty is that which is God-haloed. Beauty is that which is God-saturated. Man has a sense beyond the senses: beauty is that which fills it with bliss. Beauty is that which gives total God-consciousness to man.

There is no such thing as where it is, how it is, what form is its, what tint is its. It might be anywhere, everywhere.

A thing is beautiful when it is perfect. Perfection is fulness and harmony. As with beauty, 'fulness' and 'harmony' defy definition. If we set aside the memory of a candle flame to think of the full moon we might sense aught of fulness. And if we wipe out of our memory the image of Nightmare Alice to think of Helen of Troy, we might perceive aught of harmony. This is all that could be said round about the word beauty. All the same, beauty is something that could be realised by us, something that is worth all our while being realised.

It is for the reception of this beauty, for the enshrinement of this beauty, and for the worship of this beauty that the hearts of artists are designed and created. The artists, they wander in search of beauty, and beauty has its abode in them. All things become fire that fall into fire. Even so, all things that fall into the soul of the artist glow with the flush of ever-increasing beauty. They swell, they flow in a flood of beauty. The artists, they bathe and they play in the surging foaming waves of the flood. They flash it into our eyes, and they splash it into our ears, and they wet us and they bathe us in very beauty.

Kings live in palaces, and their palaces are magnificent. Then, what indescribable splendour should there be in the Hearts of the artists, Miracle-Temples raised for the Goddess of Beauty to stay, the Empress of all the univer-

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ses! From within the precincts of these heavens, the Goddess of Beauty sets out in state procession. Songs, poetry and paintings are these processions of the Goddess of Beauty from the soul of the artist. The artists who live within themselves live within these palaces too.

From within the sanctum sanctorum of these temples of crystal purity and subtle harmony the artist looks out: and far far away—they see the world of men. To the artist the spectacle is sad. They are pained with the absence of something in all that they see. What they want they miss everywhere. Nothing satisfies them. Little faults loom large in their eyes. The world is dirt to the eye, taunt to the ear, pain to the mind. It is in this abominable world that the artist has to live. Escape there is none for him. For his food, for his clothes, for his home, for his child, he has to mingle and barter with the strangest of institution—his living fellow-man, a veritable zoological counterpart, yet a pronounced psychological antithesis. The artist is only one; his kith and kin and the repetitions of them are a hundred million. By the man-made maxim "vox populi vox dei" the majority is right. The artist, single against impossible odds,—sincere, fearless, unconventional, unritualistic, —has to live a cast-away in society.

In a work of art, Emotion should throb into fulness and flow into torrents. If love, love; if anger, anger; if grief, grief; if sarcasm, sarcasm: emotions should rain storms in his heart, flash lightning in his heart, crash thunder in his heart. Emotions should shoot him into the sky, set him on his wings and hurl him in somersaults everywhere about. Art from a heart void of emotion is like music from a violin carved out of rock. Could we not imagine how different this emotion-tempested creature of an artist should inevitably be from the cool calculating hard-hearted shop-keepers of the world? What the artist feels, he strongly feels, and what the artist says, he strongly says; and he is mercilessly punished for all the unpalatable truths he unavoidably blurts out.

This world is a slave to convention and tradition. It is next to impossible that the artist can do a thing for the simple reason that the rest of the world does it. He is a creator; and not an imitator. In every thought and in every word and in every deed freedom is his cult. The conduct of his fellow-man is no criterion for his. Humanity goes hither, he goes thither. Without the least scruple he transgresses all meaningless rituals and customs; and for this he is condemned by all the world and brushed aside as a blasphemer and an unbeliever.

When we come across a person who behave differently from the normal modes to which we are accustomed, we naturally call him mad, and so on. The conduct of the artist is necessarily different from the conduct of man. Man has only abuse for anything that is different from what he is used to. There is indeed the lunatic always doing things out of the way. The ways of the artist are out of the way too. So, man loves to call the artist eccentric. Extreme opposites often look alike. At noon the sun looks like a dark disc in the sky. The essence of sugar is bitter to the taste. Excess of joy gives us tears. Vapour seems to rise from the surface of ice. Artists and lunatics often **look** alike. Artists who record the high-water-mark of exquisite faculties, and lunatics in whom faculties are perverted, often **look** alike. For the non-chalant world this is enough to brand the artist eccentric.

The artist is neither a merchant nor a lawyer or a doctor. He has neither food nor clothes or money. Nobody wants him, he has no place in the daily programme of our life. But, the artist, he wants all of us. All that he needs all the twenty four hours of the day, is in the possession of others. Still he is so straight, so blunt, and he loves freedom so much, that he revolts against all others. He goes away from man seeking solitude. His privations he calmly bears. His hardships he patiently suffers. He starves and he wears rags. But his confidence in himself be never loses. As truth is in him fear is absent. Being an idealist he reconciles himself to his pain. He laughs while he starves. He is proud in his rags. Things we scoff at, he adores and treasures. Things we value, he shoves aside with the back of his foot. He passes for a fool. He passes for an idiot. He is reckoned with the mad.

The world calls him proud. The artist knows what he is. He owns, he knows it. He is intelligent, imaginative, resourceful and independent. He is the creator of beauty. He is king in the assemblage of the first. He leads

(Contd. on page 90)

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THE ARCHER'S WIFE

—BADRI NARAYAN

The youth was imensely pleased with himself. He had attained the greatest skill in the art of archery. And his teacher, rejoicing, rewarded the archer for this high proficiency with his daughter's hand in marriage.

The young archer said to himself proudly, as proudly as a man can who has come to possess both skill and beauty, "Now shall I proceed from this city of Takshashila, where I have learnt so much, to Kashi, the home of my fathers. And at Kashi, with my prowess in bow and arrow astound all warriors to earn great fame and renown."

So the young archer took his wife with him, she who was heavy with youth and a sumptuous lading of jewellery. He carried with him a fine quiver filled with fifty arrows. And on they travelled towards the city of Kashi.

The way lay through a forest. An elephant, huge and mad and evil, charged upon the archer and his wife. The archer laughed, pushed his wife behind him, and shot an arrow, swift and sure, which with a twang, pierced the giant beasts grey forehead. In an instant it fell, a lifeless mountain.

They journeyed on. Now they came into another forest which was infested with a horde of villains and robbers: a pack of fifty cut-throats who lived on plundering and killing travellers. The villains saw the archer and his wife and attacked them. The young archer let fly, in swift succession, arrow after arrow, killing one villain with each trusted weapon. Forty-nine of the vile men met their end, save their captain, for the archer's quiver lay exhausted.

The archer and the robber-captain pounced upon each other, rolling on the forest-floor, and grappling at each other viciously. Under their muscle-filled bodies' weight the grass was crushed and the fallen dry leaves crackled sharply, powdering. At last, the archer was sitting on top of the robber's chest.

A-sweat, the archer cried out to his wife, "My sword, quick!"

The wife hastened to the spot where the sword-girdle lay. But for a moment she tarried. She threw a glance at her husband and another at the robber-chieftain. And when her eyes met those of the villain's, her gaily-attired bosom, heavy with passion, heaved. Her reason darkened.

"My sword, quick!" called the archer again, breathless, pinning the robber to the ground with his knees.

The young woman, in a flash, placed the sword's sheath in her husband's hand and the hilt in that of the robber's. And in a trice, the robber was the master of the situation and the archer's head soon rolled forlorn on to the grass, spattering it with blood.

The villain said to the young woman, "Come, let us get away from all this!"

They ran in haste from that spot of death, second in fidelity skipping over little mounds and the coarse growth of foliage. Soon they arrived at a flowing stream which appeared deep and flooded.

"There is a crocodile in the river", said the robber and he is a terrible one for I have seen him often. You my love, are too heavy with your gay attire and jewellery for me to carry across. Also I am a little depleted in strength after that encounter with your husband. I will first carry your heavy gold across the river and then return for you."

She shook her head in assent, full of amourous thoughts, handing over all her jewellery to the robber. He carried the gold to the opposite bank, wading through the stream. Now he'll come back for me, the woman thought. But he had hurtled away through the overgrown foliage like a swift deer.

"Come back, my love, come back," cried the distraught woman.

But he was gone.

And, at this very moment a strange scene occured in front of her. Almost at the water's edge, where she stood, a jackal ran by with a piece of red meat in its mouth. A fish leapt up from the flowing stream out into the waters edge; and the jackal, with a greedy movement, dropped the meat from its mouth and pounced upon the fish. The fish jumped back into the stream and the piece of meat was carried away along the current. The jackal, lamenting on the loss of both fish and meat, slunk away in abject despair.

And the young woman laughed and wept alternately for she had seen herself.

(Based on a tale in the Buddhist Jataka)

(Contd. from page 87)

in the heights of glory. Wealth is evanescent. So is status, and so power. The gifts in artists are eternal. He knows all this.

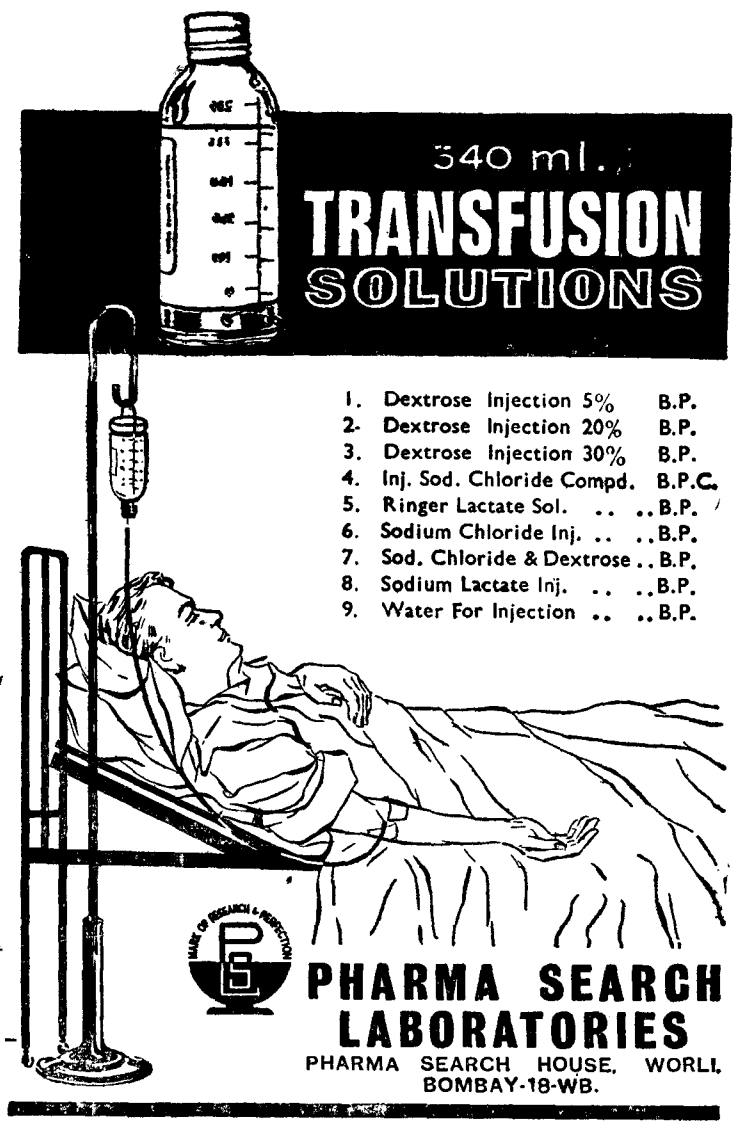
Artists are often poor. They are unfit to earn their food. Banking, commerce, labour and service are not of them. They are illfitted to earn the favour of the rich by dancing to the tune of their semi-savage fancies. We close our eyes to many and many a trifle in the world. Artists do not do it. They go deep into all little things, stretch them into the lavish dimensions of their imagination, and feed the gluttonous emotions that rave in perpetual hunger. Big things pain the artist and small things pain the artist. Calous words fly out of the mouths of men, and they fall like hot lead from machine guns in the hearts of artists and they explode like torpedoes in the hearts of the artists. It is nothing to the men who say them. It is nothing to the men who hear them. But to the artist it is hell-fire. The artist begins to dislike man He flies away from him. He walks with the beasts of the jungle, and he sings with the birds in the woods. He knows how to lavish flattery on the rich and win them and be happy. But he would not do it. Instead, he gives them tit for tat, and flings their insults back at them. And, so he is poor and ever continues poor.

Though rarely found, still there are amongst the fortunate rich a few treasure within them the soul of an artist. They neither sing nor paint nor write. But they have the souls of artists. They are the boon to these gods amongst men who struggle for food in the dust of the road.

WOMAN always has in her heart a soft corner for the artist. A faint glimmer of the beauty the artist has in his soul peeps out of somewhere about his form. And women are lovers and seekers of beauty if nowhere else, lo somewhere in their own softness. The beauty of a poet's soul never eludes the heart of a tender woman.

And there is another thing woman yearns for more than beauty. That is adoration. And what is there on the face of the earth to match the heart of an artist for adoration when it has it? Are not women beautiful too? When the artist is filled with adoration for the cherub of his heart's desire, would not the gods bow their heads from where they are in their heaven; and would not the flowers of the field shed their heaven; and would not the flowers of the field shed their petals in soft silent music;and would not the twinkling stars descend in showers and dangle from the branches of trees, and rush with the rivers, and floating dance on the waves of the sea?

Yet. Yet. Pity of pities! She whom the artist loved with parted lips and half-closed eyes was the goddess of his dreams, woman the soft, woman the chaste, woman the glorious. But she whom he grasped was woman the human, woman the woman, woman the hard merciless fact of the world. And—so— trifles loom large. He pecks at one of them and says: "Darling, Dearest, do it not again." Her face drops down. He stands trembling. Their climes are twain. Their castes are twain. Their tounges are twain.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They belong twainwhere. One knows not the other. One sighs in tears and turns away. One says 'Alas' and turns away.

We say artists are inconstant. What man wants is a life of luxury. Be unscrupulous, be vile, be inconstant as ever you could, — but if only you achieve the luxury end, you pass for being constant. It is just here, in raving for the luxury end, that the artist does not betray a consistency of purpose. It is not because he is inconsistent in his essence, but because the goal of his life is different from the luxury goal of the common man.

This does not mean that the artist dislikes prosperity or that he does not long for it even as we do. Only, he longs **more** for something else. And just as we would sacrifice our all to come by prosperity, the artist would sacrifice prosperity too to realise his great ideal. His ideal is beauty. His ideal is art. His ideal is freedom. Undisturbed he loves to toil for these, to be one with them to be full of the bliss of them. There he is constant. His constancy is the constancy of the waves of the sea. All the sweet things of life that he and his hold dearest and nearest, he flings away, and makes a bold bid to come by his own ideal.

(५१६)

Let us imagine : Kalidasa is giving form to S'akuntala; Beethoven is composing his ninth symphony; Shakesphere is putting indecision into the decision of Hamlet; Michael Angelo is chiseling David into immortality. — And some one of us is drafting a letter for the boss of our Firm who would pay me a cheque at the end of the week. CONSTANCY ! If it is anywhere in this world it is in the love of the poet for his verse, of the artist for his painting, of the musician for his song. In all our fruit trees it is the fruit that is sweet. But of the sugar cane wait not for the fruit. In the affairs of the world wait not for the constancy of the artist.

Where are they? Where are the 'great' Empire built on the life blood of butchered humanity? Caesar? Alexander? Napolean ? Mussolini? Hitler ? Where are the Emperors who shook the foundation of this earth with the lightning of their avarice, and the thunder of their pride ?

And where Kalidasa, Beethoven, Shakesphere, Michael Angelo, and their EMPIRES Lo ! ETERNAL PARADISES EVERY DAY BUILT ANEW !

———

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A LOOK AT AYURVEDA

—DR. U. A. WARRIER

The role played by the science of Ayurveda in curing physical and mental ailments of mankind is very wellknown since 5,000 years ago. Apart from curing diseases Ayurveda shows the way to lead a healthy and happy life free from all ills and anxiety. Before explaining the ailment and its cure, the exponents (acharyas) of Ayurveda advise us to get rid of the diseases of the mind and soul such as **Raga, Dwesha, Mada** and **Madsarva.** They try to raise the human mind to a higher level from degradition and other evils. Which exponents of other medical sciences teach their students this noble theory? The great acharyas wanted that one should respect even the smallest insect as oneself. They have advocated this from their innermost recess of heart—the peak of humanism in the civilised sense. They desired their contemporaries also to keep up the tradition. If the science of Ayurveda exists today, it is only because of idealistic conception of raising the growing society. Ayurveda firmly believes that the root cause for physical diseases is mental sickness.

Though Ayurveda system can seldom boast of any research to its credit one will be astound-ed at the great skill of ancient practioners who prescribed thousand-types of medicines for several diseases to people with different constitutions and on various occasions suiting all weather. We have to feel proud of the tremendous knowledge of these practitioners who knew everything about the art of surgery, the wide variety of surgical instruments, their shapes and applicability. We also have to feel proud of their deep depth of knowledge about intricate delivery operations like taking out the child by operation and removing the dead child from the mother's womb etc. It is a source of great inpiration to know about the remarkable achievements of ancient practioners.

REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Sometimes it so happens that with food we consume little stones will enter into our stomach and get stuck in the intestines. In the long run they cause diseases. To remove the stones from the stomach, operation becomes necessary. Though it is imposible to tie the operated ends, there are some ayurvedic methods to join them. All these will astound even the carping critics of Ayurveda. The treatment of all human diseases fall in eight divisions according to Ayurveda Shastra.

What is the condition of such an immensely useful science today? It is a grossly neglected science today. Apart from the usual platform oratories heard at the time of Ayurvedic Congresses and Conventions for speedily developing this age old science, no concrete steps are taken to develop it. If the system has to progress on right lines so as to catch up with the other medical sciences, it has to be encouraged and proper impetus to be given for its development.

We say that Ayurveda has tremendous healing powers. But how far they are applicable in the practical sense and how far are they successful in the present day context. As long as these questions remain unsolved the authority of the system itself is questionable. For this, the present tonic type treatment has to be replaced by a thorough scientific way of treatment for eradicating the disease from the body. It should be proved scientifically that the advantage of Ayurvedic system over others is to eliminate the disease completely thereby making the man lead a healthy and happy life. Till such time these are established, the authority of the system is questioned and its greatness will be treated as parrot sayings.

KERALA'S PLACE

Well, compared to the rest of India, Kerala has played a formidable role in demonstrating the world the uniqueness of Ayurvedic treatments. For example Kerala's **pizhichil, navrakizhi** and **dhara** are increasingly recognised and practised all over India today.

Again, it is only those practitioners from Kerala who could cure the disease by purifying the mind and body in the **panchakarma** style. Another thing is that no other state is having so many ayurvedic practioners and dispensaries as Kerala is having. But are they a record of achievements? Certainly not. As long as we cannot practise the system on the basis of Shastra, they are not achievements. Only commercially Ayurveda has progressed to a certain extent. For example there is a growing market

for certain Ayurvedic preparations like **Dasamoolarishtam** and **Chavynaprasam.** They are having a national and international market. Even today there are a few practioners in Kerala who are capable of undertaking wonderful treatments like **Vasti, Vamanam** and **Siravedam.** But the great tragedy is that even reputed institutions in the field are not coming forward to undertake such treatments or help those who are prepared to undertake such treatments.

It will be a milestone in the history of Ayurveda if atleast a portion of the yearly turnover of Ayurvedic preparations is made available for extensive researches. Please see how much money is spent on research work by foreign pharmaceutical firms every year. Their growth is phenomenal as they believe in reasearch work. So Allopathy is growing day by day and not fading like Ayurveda. Except the occasional clarion calls for research work in Ayurveda nothing tangible has been done to promote research. The science wont progress by manufacturing and selling popular items like **Dasamoolarishtam** and **Chavyanaprasam** as prescribed thousands of years ago.

As the prescriptions are prepared several centuries ago suiting the then environmental and climatic conditions, it is doubtful how far they are effective today. However a fresh study of them is indispensable in view of the soil fertility changes and weather changes with the passage of time. This only will confirm how far the old medicinal prescriptions will suit today.

Another thing common today is that there is no uniform standard with regard to the manufacture of even popular items. For example, products like **Dasamoolarishtam** and **Chavynaprasam** are manufactured in different ways by different units. Some sort of Government control over mnufacturers on the preparation of these products is vital to maintain the quality.

Only with the co-operative effort of all Ayurvedic practitioners, the science of Aurveda will be able to get the same status enjoyed by other medical sciences. The Government of India and the State Governments it is hoped will take into consideration of all these things and will take positive steps to enhance the glory of this ancient science.

———

STORY OF A GLORIOUS PERIOD

We are living in momentous times. India is leading today an ideological campaign and there are so many issues, national and international, demanding discussion and decision.

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FESTIVAL OF SOVIET FILMS

If any art can encompass life in its fullness it is no doubt the art of cinematography. It is the youngest and most modern genre of art. Yet is the only single mass media that can carry and convey in all its richness and robustness the culture, the emotions and aspirations of one section to the other of this vast human family.

With such omnipotency films are destined to play the foremost role in culturally, and emotionally bringing closer people of not only a country, a continent, but the East and the West converting "the twain shall never meet", a term coined by colonialists, into a dead adage.

In the true spirit of the letter the exchanges in the field of cinema art have come to rank very prominently in the Soviet-Indian cultural co-operation. The Soviet film workers have established close contacts with the Indian film institute in Bombay and Poona. In February—March, 1966, well-known Soviet scriptwriter Papava and Director Vaisfeld delivered lectures at those institutes. In turn, the delegation of Indian Cinematographers that visited the Soviet Union recently familiarised itself with the work of the All-Union Institute of Cinematography and with the film studies of Moscow, Leningrad, Tbilisi and other cities, with their new films.

WONDERFUL LINK

Accepting films as a wonderful contributing factor in bringing the cultures of various peoples closer together, Indian film festivals regularly are held in the USSR, and Soviet film festivals are arranged in India. Millions of Soviet spectators came to like very much the heroes of Indian films **Do Bigha Zamin, Awara, Baiju Bawra, Love in Simla, Jis Desh Men Ganga Bahati Hai, Sangam, Dosti,** and many others.

India's participation in the Moscow international festivals has become a good tradition. Indian films are an invariable success there, as is evidenced by prizes and medals awarded to Indian films, actors, and film directors.

The Soviet Union regularly takes part in the international film festivals conducted in India. Thus at the 3rd International Film Festival that took place in Delhi last January, Soviet film actor leonov was awarded the best actor's prize for his performance in the film **A tale of the Don.**

Natasha Sedykh plays the leading part in the film Morozko.

The latest in the series was a five-week Soviet film festival held in Delhi, Hyderabad, Lucknow, Madras and which culminated in Bombay in the last week of April. This was the second festival of its kind held here under the Indo-Soviet Cultural Exchange Programme.

The feature films and documentaries exhibited during the festival presented to its Indian audience a cross-section of Soviet Cinematography depicting a variety of film genres. Together with a fairy tale **Morozko** (Jack Frost) it included some touching facets of social life in **The Woman with Violets** which had won the Golden Dargon, the highest award, at the Gracow Film Festival in Poland, and **"The Two"** which won the first prize for short films, in the same festival.

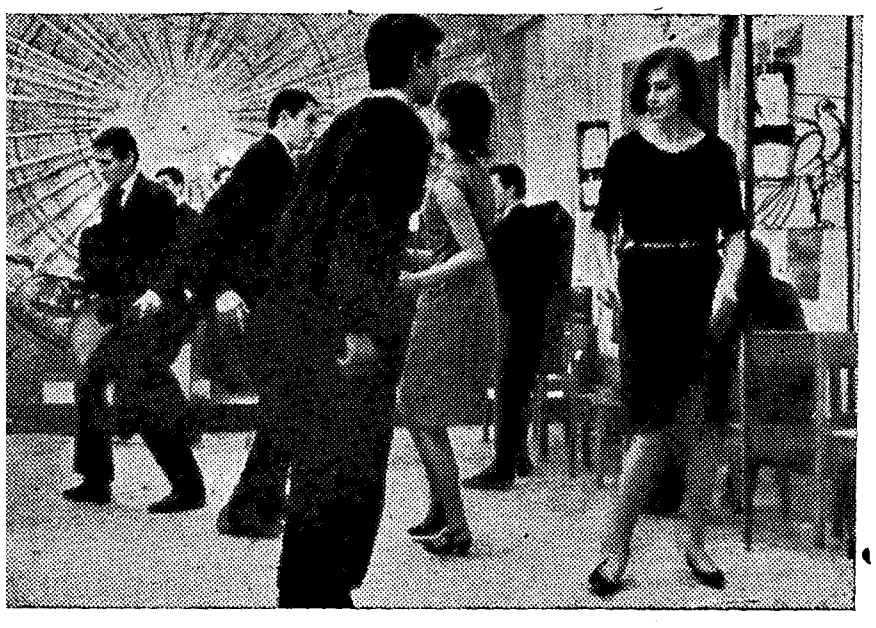
Soviet film actress Svetlana Svetlichnaya.

Of the two war films screened in the Festival **"The Rockets should not be Launched"** and **"Father of Soldier"**, the latter is a masterpiece. It is indeed a staggering episode of the "Father of a Soldier". Unarmed and unbending, the old man slowly advances upon the enemy, invulnerable, filled with hate, fury and pain. Carrying a deep tragic symbolism with the earthy and the lyrical going side by side. The role has been magnificently played by Sergo Zakariadze who won the highest Soviet award of 1966 the Lenin Prize announced on 21st April. Zakariadze has not acted but has lived the role. It is not often that a film actor can blend so thoroughly with his hero that even the sophisticated viewers wonder if it was really a collective farmer from Georgia and not a professional actor. To those who hate war and injustice and who have faith in mankind this film will stand out as masterpiece.

Th Soviet film festival acquired added attraction with the attendance of a delegation of Soviet cine-artists led by the director of **The Decisive Step.** Alty Karliev who is also the Chairman of the Committee of Cinematography under the Council of Ministers of Turskmenia. Mr. Karliev is planning to produce a film about the life and work of a Turskmenian poet who had visited India twice about 200 years ago.

The other two members of the delegation was A. Row, Director and Producer of Jak Frost and Sveltana Svetlichnaya the heroine of **The Woman with Violets.**

The Soviet films following in the wake of Soviet ballet won acclaim from wide sections of the Indian people. Such exchanges no doubt open unlimited vistas of international understanding and amity. They hold a promising rich future for generations to come.



V. Pyodorova as Natasha on night in the film "The Two".

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ON THE LAST LAP !

—ARPEE

The inimitable Chesterton had his fling at the girls of his day who, according to him, refused to be dictated to at home and proceeded to become stenographers. Since then, humorists have had their digs at the pretty devotees of Pitman, whose career they have traced from receptionists to deceptionist.

A pretty stenographer may not be able to add but she can certainly distract or so they say. There is the old quip that the sudden entrance of the boss's wife has forced many a stenographer to change her position. But executives all over the world love fast stenographers.

In India, the art of Pitman was the exclussive prerogative of men from Madras who are noted for their long tongue and shorthand. But after the war, pretty girls have muscled their way into the profession and elbowed out the male of the species. But the life of a girl stenographer is not a bed of roses. She is expected to look like Marilyn Monroe, think like Bertrand Russel and work like a dog. She must be a walking encyclopaedia of knowledge on all subjects.

The routine of a stenographer does not vary much whether she works in a government department or an advertising agency, a commercial firm or an editorial office. Theoretically, the steno is expected to take down the dictation of her boss and type it cleanly without displaying any originality in spelling. But it is not so simple as all that. If shorthand is a science, dictation is an art and most of our bosses are innocent of it.

There is the marathon performer whose dictation is speedier than the Deccan Queen. It is as though he is rushing to some destination. The cascade of words resembles the water coming down at Lodore. Confronted with this verbal speed-fiend, the poor steno can only stare helplessly and toy with the idea of becoming an air hostess.

Then there are others who have difficulty in expressing what goes on in their minds. When a series of grunts and hums and haws punctuate every sentence at intervals, the steno loses the thread of what is being dictated. And if she requests him to repeat his words, he stares owlishly at her as though she has committed some heinous crime. Words seem to elude this variety and the steno is expected to fill in the blanks.

Some bosses believe in shouting at the top of their voices, as though the steno is stone deaf or as if they are addressing a mass gathering at Chowpatty without the aid of loud speakers. There are others who dictate in hushed whispers and the steno has to strain her ears. It would appear as though these bosses are afraid of the truth coming out and the skeletons in their cupboards being exposed.

The pronunciation of quite a few bosses can have a grating effect on the nerves of the steno. Some spit out the words venomously giving the impression of having masticated them and found them to their distaste. There is the other variety sporting jazzy bush shirts and wearing uncomfortable drainpipes and reeking of heircreams and after shave lotions. This menace affects a pseudo-Oxford accent or a Yankee twang. As though this were not

enough, some chew a cigar or keep a pipe between the teeth while dictating. No steno would grudge her boss the right to enjoy Nicotine's charms. But why should he choose the time when he is dictating to her? The words fade into gurgling sounds, driving the steno crazy.

There is the cretin, usually business tycoons and newspaper editors, whose mouth seems to water perpetually. The former may be gloating over the buckets of money he has made and the latter over the Niagara of words he has in mind. When this specimen opens his air-conditioned mouth and dictates, the unfortunate steno is inundated with a shower bath.

The hapless victim of such a peripatetic fountain endured the torture for many months before she thought of drastic action. One day, she walked into his cabin with her parasol; and when the spouting started, she unfolded the parasol and held it over her head with her left hand while writing her notes with the right. She was hauled up before the Chairman of the Company but she got away scot-free when she pointed out that she ran grave risk of catching pneumonia.

Then there was the Editor of a weekly who could not sit in his chair for long; possibly his rear was allergic to contact with a wooden seat. He used to run round the room while dictating his feature articles to his steno. He had a Napoleonic complex about him. Many a steno left his service after a few weeks, though he was rather liberal in payment. But one young convent-educated steno cured him of his habit by tripping him up while he was speeding from one corner of the room to the other. He fell down with a thud and broke two of his front teeth. The sequel? He gave up journalism and took to selling life insurance. It should be up his alley.

The most repulsive type of boss is the one in his flightly fifties who has gone into anecdotage. He considers his steno in the nature of a one-woman audience on whom he can inflict instalments of his autobiography day after day. The poor girl writes in agony but she has no choice except to listen to the grisly story of this megalomaniac. It does not occur to him that even if the poor girl were interested in knowing about the great, she could read about Al Capone or Bhupat or someone else whose biography is interesting and elevating.

The trouble with these confessions is that like the babbling brook, they tend to go on forever; and the steno cannot escape it. One can run away from a public meeting; there is no law against leaving the theatre if the film is boring. But a steno cannot turn her back on her boss when he is narrating an intersting incident in his ghastly life without running the risk of losing her job. That is probably why stenographers are allergic to autobiographies even as reading material during their spare hours.

The humorous boss stands in a class by himself. He goes through the filler pieces of old magazines and collects his jokes. Patient research has brought out that the average member of this tribe has no more than stale and moth-eaten jokes; and that he is shunned at the clubs and the restaurants by his confreres because of his penchant for repeating them **ad nauseum**.

The humorist inflicts these premordial jokes on his steno and expects his steno to roar with laughter. Many stenos have been known to squirm under this inquisitorial torture. But one dimpled darling squelched it by resorting to Malapropism. "You are always funny, aren't you? She chirped ever so sweetly. The boss was taken aback and said: "You mean I am humorous." To which she gave the crushing retort: "I really don't know; but I always laugh at you!"

Some bosses treat their stenos as psychiatrists and confess to them their inhibitions and complexes. No wonder psychoanalysts prefer former stenos as their assistants, since they are experienced in dealing with pathological specimens. Quite a few employers want their stenos to serve as general factotum. Some expect their stenos to look after their domestic accounts; a few want advice on the nature of the present to be given to the wife on her birthday. In extreme cases, the steno is even called upon to give her opinion about the best school to which the boss can exile his brats. Veterans at the office front know that speed in typing and shorthand is the least among the qualifications of a steno.

The romantic employer is the bugbear of all stenos. The mirror might take offence at his face, the waistline might drive his tailor crazy, his comb might be lying disused for years. Yet he is under the delusion that no pretty steno can resist being attracted by him. No girl is averse to compliments about her looks or her dress; but this variety goes into clinical details. He is like the medico who tried to study feminine anatomy by the Braille system. When he invites his steno to dinner at a shady restaurant (which his wife and friends are not likely to patronise) he expects her to swoon with delight. He forgets that even a poor steno can have better dinner companions that dyspeptic executives, though they have reached the age when women consider them harmless.

K. P.S. Menon is fond of retailing the anecdote about the debonair member of a foreign diplomatic corps who used to change his luscious stenographers every three months. A lovely girl applied for the post and was asked what she expected as salary. The bewitching beauty demanded 200 dollars. "With pleasure," agreed the diplomat. The wide-awake retorted: "Certainly not; with pleasure 500 dollars, without 200."

Even so a steno, however pretty all her curves and contours enhanced, does not live in the lap of luxury. Though the sweet young thing, who had changed many employers and was getting married, said in all innocence: "I am on my last lap now."

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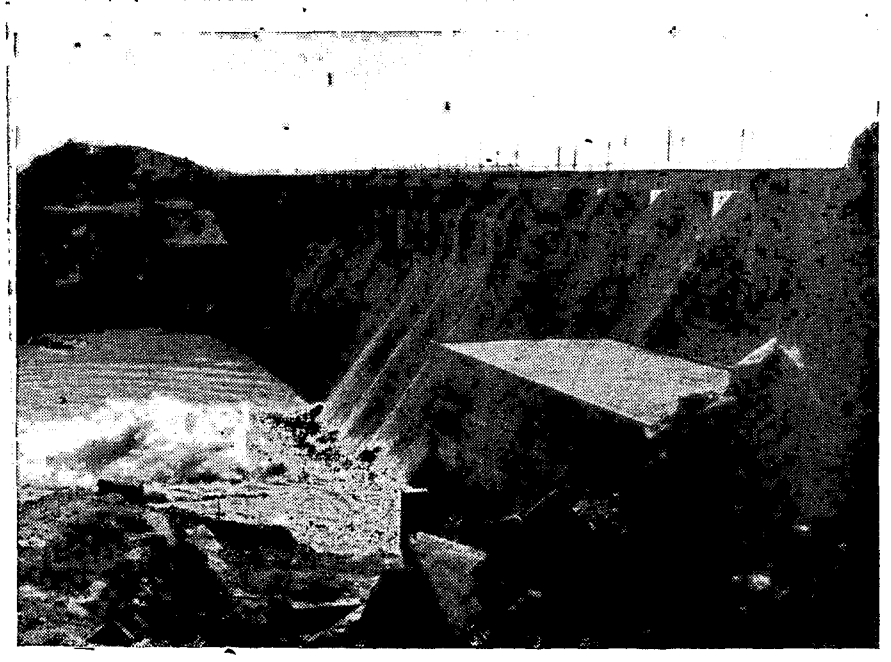
No Linguistic War!

(CONTRIBUTED)

Crusaders and fanatics are seldom swayed by reason and that goes for linguistic chauvinists too. Seth Govind Das, Chairman of the sub-committee of the Central Hindi Advisory Board, has launched a war of attrition against English while crusading for Hindi. He has threatened a massive picketing campaign in four Hindi-speaking States if English continues to be a compulsory subject in the universities. Should the university authorities and a section of students choose to remain so unpatriotic as to continue the study of English, steps would be taken to assure that the passing of any examination in English must not be obligatory for securing degrees.

The four Hindi-speaking States where the redoubtable Seth Govind Das and his confreres are to build such an impregnable barrier against the infiltration of hated English are incidentally the most backward regions in the country Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan. For the laggards and the sluggards, Seth Govind Das decided to forge effective sanctions. He would issue a stirring appeal to voters not to support in the next general election those candidates, irrespective of party affiliations, who did not fill the forms to be issued by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan pledging that they would further the cause of Hindi. And furthering the cause of Hindi, according to him, is the stifling of English with a ferocity worthy of a better cause. Even at the risk of being denounced as reactionaries, it is necessary to strike a note of caution before irrevocable damage is done to the Hindi-speaking areas by unbridled chauvinism over the language issue.

That India should have a common language is common ground. But will it help national integration if English is banished from the land with bell, book and candle? Those who are agitating for its expulsion would do well to ponder over the observations made by free India's first Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who incidentally was no great lover of the English language being himself a renowned oriental scholar. In his first press conference held in 1947, Maulana Azad made this down-to-earth appraisal of the utility of English in the present set-up: "However wrongly the English language made its way into our life, the fact remains that it has influenced our mental and educational outlook for the past one hundred and fifty years. This



The Tilaya Dam

state of affairs, though harmful in some ways, has also benefited us in many ways. We have to acknowledge it without reservations.

ADVANTAGE

"The greatest advantage that we gained from the adoption of English was that many of the obstacles were automatically removed from our newly-born national life. It has led to the unification of the whole of the country. All the different parts of the country were brought together in spite of distances and different languages. In this respect it can be said that English has played the same part in cementing and uniting India as did Persian in Moghul times.

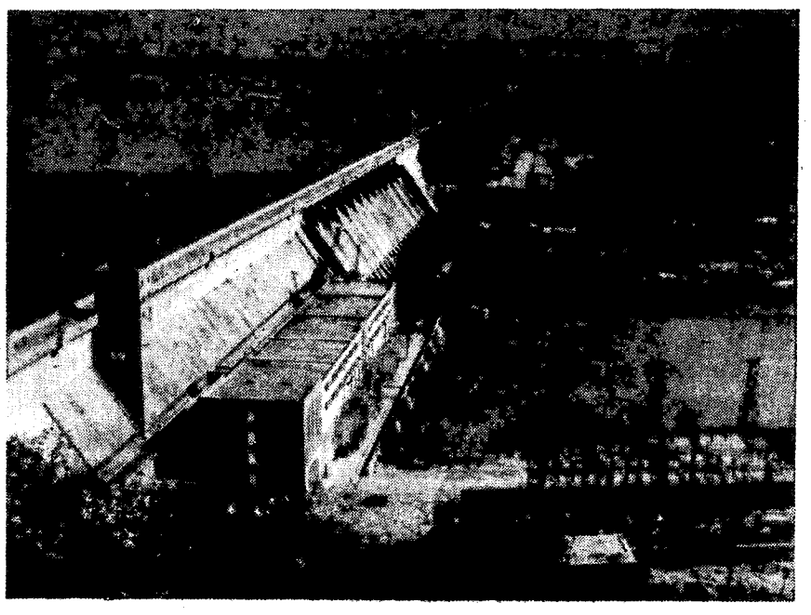
"Our country is a sub-continent and every part has its separate entity. But the English language has been responsible for creating a bond of mental fellowship among all educated Indians from Kashmir to Cape Comorin. It is a connecting link between all the provincial governments, universities, legislative assemblies, public platforms and national organisations. It was this state of affairs that led to the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885 which created political awakening and gave a new national life to the country.

"Then we have been benefited in another direction also. Through English, India cultivated direct intellectual relationship with Europe and America. Her voice reached the outer world without any intermediary. I do not feel the slightest hesitation in saying that India's position and recognition in the international world are greatly due to our having recourse to the English language, both written and spoken."

Admittedly the position that English occupied in the pre-independence period cannot be sustained indefinitely. It is essential that Indian languages should find their legitimate position but we have to decide after mature deliberation how to bring about this change. Obviously there are two courses open to us. We may either take an immediate and sudden step or we may proceed gradually measuring our way and considering the pros and cons of our steps.

THROWING THE BABY OUT

If in our zeal to propagate Hindi, which is yet to be accepted by all the States, we throw the English language out of the country or from the Hindi-speaking States, it will be like throwing the baby out with the bath-water. The non-Hindi-speaking States will not react kindly to Seth Govind Das's drastic directive. The propaganda of Hindi will receive a rude setback in those areas. Progressively, the students in the non-English-speaking areas will find themselves wholly unwanted outside their zone and the integration of the country which admittedly is the main objective of Seth Govind Das and his friends will remain an idle dream.



The Hirakud Dam

SEVIKA

What is more, the pursuit of scientific studies where the standard text books are almost all in English will limp painfully in the Hindi-speaking areas. Our university products will be dubbed as sub-standard; and our engineers, doctors and other professional men will be regarded as inferior by their compeers elsewhere. A further deterioration in our educational standards may well spell disaster to our economy.

Seth Govind Das is understandably angry but, on his own admission, servicemen find it difficult to do their duties efficiently through the medium of Hindi. Steps should be taken here and now to correct this imbalance. In the Hindi-speaking areas, all government employees should have equal facility in expressing themselves in English and Hindi. But to place a wholesale ban on the study of English in a fit of passion will be a quixotic act.

Seth Govind Das, in his cooler moments, should be able to realise for himself that he has been tilting his chauvinistic lance not at an ogre or a monster but at a very useful windmill serving to promote the integration and economic advancement of the country. The country respects his great love for Hindi but is it really necessary that he should manifest this love by unleasing a tearing, raging and wholly insensate anti-English campaign in the four woefully undeveloped States in the Indian Union.

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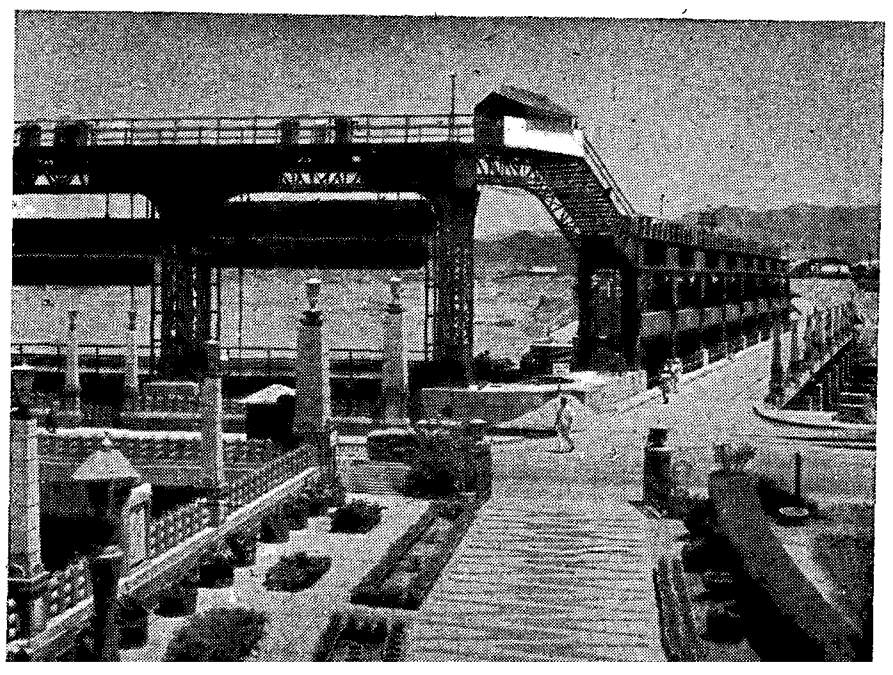
in
AUGUST 1966



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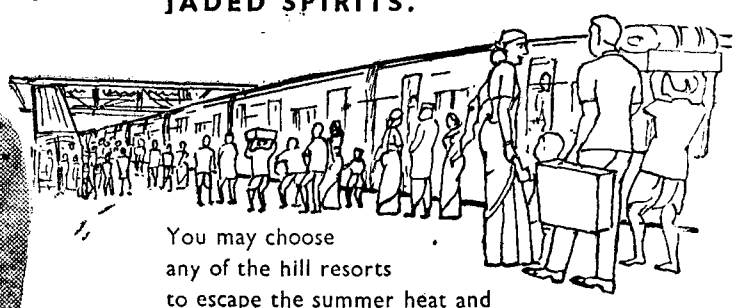

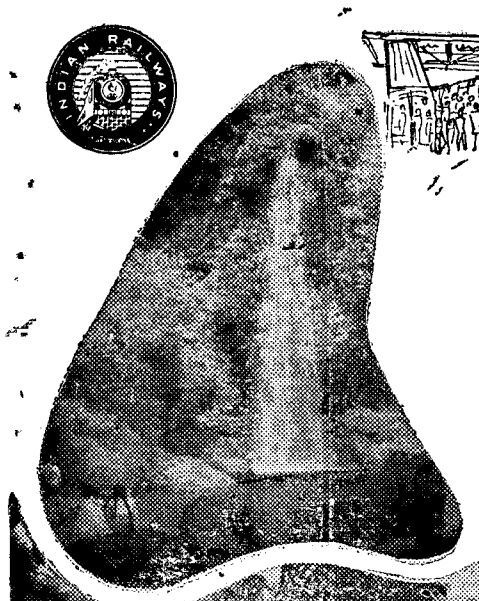

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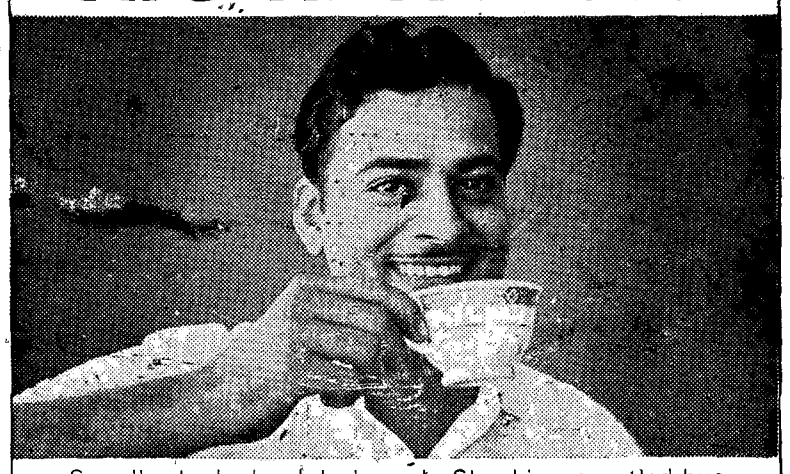

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